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THE  
CHURCH CLUB  
LECTURES

1894

THE RIGHTS  
AND PRETENSIONS  
OF THE ROMAN SEE

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THE  
Rights and Pretensions  
OF THE  
Roman See

**Lectures**

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Rev. Greeno. White

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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE Lectures gathered in this volume are the natural sequel of the Course in 1893 on "The Six Œcumenical Councils of the Undivided Catholic Church." This very title suggests the Church's altered state, and leads one to "mark them which cause divisions" that afflict Christendom in our day; while, moreover, in the Course of 1893 special emergence of the modern Roman claims appeared, notably in the Lectures of the Rev. Dr. Elmendorf and the Rev. Dr. Riley. Not without reason, therefore, was chosen as the subject for 1894, "The Rights and Pretensions of the Roman See," a subject in this volume developed throughout with unusual learning, lucidity, and charm of style. Here may be traced the whole

development of the Papal idea ; here is to be seen, almost as in act, the *becoming* of the Pope full-blown and as known to us, the Pope called by the Holy Orthodox Eastern Church "the first Protestant," "the founder of German rationalism"; whose asserted supremacy is declared by that Church to be "the chief heresy of the latter days, which flourishes now as its predecessor, Arianism, flourished before it in the earlier ages, and which, like Arianism, shall in like manner be cast down and vanish away."

As the Bishop of Maryland remarks in his Lecture, the Roman controversy is inferior in dignity of subject to the great controversies of earlier centuries, which "were concerned, not with matters of order and ministerial authority, but with the far more awful questions of the very nature of God." Yet, as the Bishop further observes, those controversies are past, and their issues closed, while the Roman question remains

of instant, present importance, and, for us in America, of peculiar consequence. Want of intrinsic dignity in it is repaired by other considerations. The presence of the Roman mission in this country, its activity and aggressiveness, its ceaseless concern with our institutions and politics, always with precise aims and for definite ends of its own, are cause enough for examination and exposition of the unstable foundation upon which it rests. Against the unhistoric Episcopate in one infallible man we do not protest—for the word “protest” suggests, however faintly, a sense of helplessness, denoting the last refuge of overborne weakness, and implying actual though unwilling submission. It is not that we protest against the Roman claim; we do not allow it, we oppose it, deny it, reject it.

To this necessary work the Lectures here following will be found to lend most efficient aid. It is difficult to write of their excel-

lence in measured phrase. Their learning and expressive point, their wide historic sweep and command of facts, their close logic and trenchant, destructive argument, will compel admiration. Not less admirable, to those who have ever attempted like tasks, will appear the success with which the Lecturers have overcome the almost intolerable difficulty of compressing historic periods and involved questions within manageable limits for a single discourse. It would be unbecoming here to attempt awarding proportionate praise to each; suffice it to say that the volume will be found to possess extraordinary value.

The series was most aptly planned as an articulate body and a consistent whole by advisers to whom the Church Club remains deeply indebted, and whose privacy it respects by restraining mention of their names in this place.

Happily, the Club is not in like manner

withheld from celebrating here the names of the Right Reverend and Reverend speakers who dignified its Course of 1894, and gratefully acknowledges its sense of profound obligation to the Bishops of Maryland and Vermont, to the Rev. Dr. Waterman, and to the Rev. Greenough White, the Rev. Robert Ritchie, and the Rev. Algernon Sidney Crapsey, for the kindness with which, in the midst of an absorbing vocation, they gave their unselfish labor in aid of the objects of the Church Club: "to promote the study of the history and the doctrines of the Church, and to stimulate the efforts of Churchmen for her welfare and for the maintenance of the faith."

*New York, Advent, A.D. 1894.*



**St. Peter and the Primacy of the  
Roman See.**





THE RT. REV. WILLIAM PARET, D.D., LL.D.,  
Bishop of Maryland.

*ST. PETER AND THE PRIMACY OF THE  
ROMAN SEE.*

THE subject assigned to me for this lecture is "St. Peter and the Primacy of the See of Rome"; and I understand that this is the first in a series of lectures bearing upon some of the most important points in Rome's controversy with all other Christian people. There have been greater controversies in the history of the Church. Those in the earliest centuries were concerned, not with matters of order and ministerial authority, but with the far more awful questions of the very nature of God; with the being and personality of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and with their relation in the Blessed Trinity to the Eternal Father. While these controversies lasted they seemed to convulse the Church; but by our Lord's gracious ordering those questions, of doctrine most vital, were decided absolutely and finally while the

man and obedience  
as by a great sin  
at the decline of the Roman Church for much to  
be done

Church was y<sup>r</sup> unquestioned Catholic  
unity to com<sup>e</sup> nce to her voice. And  
now, those issues are almost closed  
questions. s of the Roman Church  
to an absolute dom<sup>i</sup> . . . , not asserted, not dream-  
ed of, in the times of the great Councils, have  
been confidently made by Rome and as confident-  
ly denied by all other Christian people, for the  
last 1400 years. Not so boldly made at first as  
now, and therefore not so strongly controverted.  
Not stirring men's souls to the same earnestness  
in all times and places. They swelled into bit-  
terness and hatred at the great schism which sepa-  
rated East and West. They burned with martyr  
flames in the continental effort at reformation un-  
der Luther and his co-workers. They flowed with  
blood in the great slaughter of Protestants in Hol-  
land and of Huguenots in France ; and they made  
England, for many a year, a horrid battle-ground  
for the swaying forces. In our own time, with  
less outward violence indeed, but with no less in-  
ner intensity, the struggle goes on. Rome strives  
as earnestly as ever for absolute mastery. All  
other Christians as earnestly reject the offered  
yoke. The world's advance, rather the advance  
of Christian principles, forbids the use of carnal  
weapons, and the strife, intense as ever, seems  
therefore at this time almost peaceful.

And the place of the struggle has changed.

Like a skilful commander, Rome has changed the order of the campaign. She leaves the East, for the most part, alone for the present. She is content to hold her own if she can in Germany. She is on her defence and must keep moderate in France ; but she has gathered all her aggressive powers for the English-speaking peoples, in England, and chief of all here in the United States. Certainly with all the wisdom of the serpent, and professedly with the harmlessness of the dove, the Church of Rome is concentrating her full powers for the conquest and subjugation of the Christianity of America. Here then, if anywhere, the points of issue should be carefully studied and constantly kept in view.

It must be plain that in undertaking to deal with such a subject in one lecture, I must absolutely shut out all thought of originality. I am not exploring new mines of truth, nor old mines for new results ; but only working over and bringing to present view the treasures already gathered. I must use freely the thoughts of others, the facts gathered by others (not, I trust, without verifying them), and sometimes perhaps even the words of others. It will not be necessary, and I think it would not be profitable, for me to name authorities, and I will not waste your time and my own by attempting always to do so.

The very careful planning for this course of lec- •

tures has relieved me of uncertainty by giving me limits. I am not to speak to you of the Roman claim of supremacy, or absolute and infallible authority over all Christianity. That is indeed the form which the claim now takes ; but others will speak to you of that, of its character, its growth, its present audacity ; and will show you, I am sure, its real hollowness. But before the claim to supremacy went a claim to the Primacy ; and the two things are very different. St. Peter may have been first of Apostles, chief, first on the roll, first in honor, first as by his own impetuousness and their yielding to it, to be the spokesman for the rest ; and yet have, as it can be clearly shown, not the least degree of authority over them, nor any distinctness of office.

When the Ambassadors from foreign nations meet in Washington on some state occasion, that one who has been longest in residence, from whatever nation he may be, great or small, always has the precedence of place and honor. In our own House of Bishops, among the officers of the army and of the navy, and in all like relations, there are those who by courtesy, by custom, by general consent, sometimes expressed by rules of order, hold priority in honor over others, without any official difference or any authority whatever over the equals whom they thus precede. One may be "primus inter pares." So leaving the question of

supremacy to those who may speak to you afterwards, the question of Primacy, as related to St. Peter and the See of Rome is to be in our thoughts now.

Immediately the subject seems to take shape in several questions. Was there an absolute uniformity and equality in all the relations of the Twelve among themselves? Or were there some distinctions of place, honor and work? What was the position of St. Peter among the Twelve? If any peculiarity is noted, was it personal, dependent upon his personal characteristics or special circumstances? Or was it in any way official? Was it permanent throughout his history as recorded in the New Testament, or does it seem to pass away? Is there any proof that Primacy of any kind was ordained by our Lord? Any evidence that it was exercised? Did St. Peter ever claim it? Did the others ever acknowledge it? How did the early Christian writers think upon these points?

And passing now to the second part of our subject, its relation to the See of Rome, the questions arise: Is it certain that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome? If so, in what years? If he had any Primacy, is there any evidence that it was to pass by succession? Could he transmit it? Did he transmit it? Did the See of Rome have and exercise any Primacy from the first? If so, was it

acknowledged from the first as by our Lord's command, and as transmitted by St. Peter? Or was it as growing out of other special relations and conditions? And for all these questions, Holy Scripture, history and the words of the early Fathers must be our evidence.

But I am not going to try your patience by following out all these questions minutely. Those who wish to do so will find most helpful guides in the works of Littledale, Gore and Puller, of our own day, and of Barrow and other mighty masters of older English theology. I give them here as suggesting the outline or direction of thought which will govern what I have to say. Some of them I may ask you to look at carefully; for some I must ask your acceptance of conclusions most fully proved by the writers before named.

You will observe that the subject, as I have outlined it in questions, seems to suggest a historical method of treatment; and without binding myself to keep absolutely to historical order, I think it will be most helpful to keep it in view.

First of all, the Twelve were not upon the same absolute level in every respect. There was an order in their choosing and appointment; there was order and there was distinction in the way in which they were paired together. There were differences in our Lord's treatment of them individually, as when, on more than one

occasion, He chose the same three to be with Him for some special act and incident. There were sometimes designations for special duty, and we may be sure that our Lord did not make such designations at random. Judas was named to be purse-bearer or treasurer. Perhaps that very eagerness for having and keeping money, which grew into his awful sin, may have suggested the designation. For some reason in St. Philip's character, the Lord made him spokesman for the Twelve and their representative when He fed the multitude. For some like reason St. Philip was spokesman again when he said, "Lord, show us the Father and it sufficeth us"; and again he seemed conspicuous when certain Greeks sought to see the Lord. For certain peculiarities, St. Thomas was sometimes, and once unhappily, prominent. For some noble qualities our Lord singled out St. John for His very highest marks of affection and confidence; and in like manner there were instances in which St. Peter comes into prominence, and he, too, sometimes unhappily. When the list of the Twelve is given by three of the Gospel writers, the first name is that of Peter; and St. Matthew begins by saying distinctly, "The first, Simon, which is called Peter"; though the others simply name him. And why first? Naturally and simply, it might be, because he was the first called to apostleship in order of time.



This has been disputed, and it has been claimed that St. Andrew was the first called. True, St. Andrew was first called as a disciple; but there were many disciples who were not Apostles. And when the call came out of discipleship into apostleship, St. Peter was the one first called. "Peter and Andrew and James and John" were already disciples and followers when the Lord came to them at their nets, and said, "I will make you fishers of men"; and in that preliminary call St. Peter is the first named. And it was some time after that, when the more formal and solemn setting apart of the full company was made after the night of preparatory prayer, and again St. Peter was first appointed in order of time. But there is not, there or elsewhere, the slightest indication that in our Lord's purpose, or by His act or word, any distinction of office or any shade of difference in authority was made between St. Peter and the rest of the Apostolic company. Not an act nor a word to give him any power over them. They were all called and appointed to the very same office, on the same occasion, and with the very same words. Why, then, should our Lord choose and name him first in order? It may be possible, without claiming any strong assurance, to think that our Lord, who read men's hearts and knew what was in man, saw in that first-called Apostle the qualities which would make him prominent

and fit him for prominence. No doubt the same impetuous self confidence which made him often, but not always, first to speak among the Twelve, and even bold to rebuke the Lord, had already made him chief in the partnership of the fishermen in their nets, as he plainly seemed to be, and the accepted commander when the boat was on the water. Men accept leadership when they find the qualities for leadership. And other Apostles, without any divine direction or giving of authority (for it is evident there was none), would do as all men do in like circumstances, and simply and practically defer to a leadership which the man's own qualities made him both ready and fit to assume. There was such a first position in the story of the Twelve while our Lord was yet with them on the earth. But it is sufficiently accounted for by the character of the man and the circumstances. And there is not a word to show that any Primacy or superiority in office or power was bestowed by Christ. It is not necessary to study all the incidents to establish this point. It seems to be conceded. The Roman Archbishop Kenrick, in his work on the Primacy, says, "Whilst our Lord was on earth, He alone was the Head of the Church, and Peter, although he was leader, had no authority over his brethren. At that time his precedency was rather of order or rank than of jurisdiction and government."

It is granted then, without further argument, that up to the time of our Lord's Resurrection and Ascension, there was only a Primacy among equals a Primacy of order and forwardness, but not of authority. Now, if there be any evidence of Primacy in St. Peter after our Lord's departure, it would be natural and necessary to take it as a continuation of the same kind of Primacy, and to be accounted for on the same principles, unless there be clear evidence that by some divine act or word a new office was created, and a reorganization made of the Apostolic company. Certainly no such word or act appears after our Lord's Resurrection.

St. Matthew's account is very short. But it puts all the eleven in an absolute equality. No one can read his statement and fail to be convinced that he knew nothing at all of any official superiority or authority of one above the rest. "Go quickly and tell his disciples" are the words. They "did run to bring his disciples word." "Go tell my brethren"; and then comes the meeting and the great Commission; it is to the eleven; to all alike; no separate word to St. Peter; no special office given to him; no separate power; no separate mention of him. "The eleven disciples went away into Galilee." Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, "All power is given unto me in heaven and on earth." But He did not add "Peter is to

take my place. I make him my vicar. Obey him as you have obeyed me." But, "Go ye, therefore, baptizing and teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am" [not with Peter, as some now claim], but "lo, I am with you always, unto the end of the world." If our Lord gave any chief-authority to St. Peter, it is clear that St. Matthew did not know it.

St. Mark's story shows throughout the same absolute equality of the eleven and makes no distinction of any kind, save in one word. When it comes to the commission, to the words of authority and its conveyance, where, if anywhere, the distinction ought to appear, it is not there. "He appeared unto the eleven and he said *unto them*, Go ye into all the world and preach." Of difference in commission, in power, in authority, there is not a trace. The same power and authority are given to all alike. I said there was one word of distinction, but it has nothing to do with official authority. The angel said to the women, "Go tell his disciples and Peter." St. Mark alone there puts in Peter's name; and it is almost certain that St. Mark was writing under St. Peter's dictation or instruction. So it may be taken as St. Peter's own statement. "His disciples and Peter"; the only place in the Holy Scripture where he seems to be named as not a disciple. And what wonder that at such a time Peter should have

counted himself as fallen from discipleship. He had forfeited his claim and part in it. When in the high priest's palace but three days before, one asked, "Art thou not also one of his disciples?" he said, "Man, I am not." What wonder that, until by the thrice-repeated test of his love, and the thrice-repeated "Feed my sheep," the discipleship thrice denied was restored to him; what wonder that in that dark interval St. Peter's guilty conscience should feel and own that his right to discipleship had been forfeited. No wonder that St. Peter alone should in glad humility recognize the pardoning love that sent not only to the more faithful, but even to Peter also, the glad message.

St. Luke's account is longer. The women seem to know no distinction. They "told all these things unto the eleven." And when the Lord came to give the great commission, there was again no separate office or commission for Peter. The words and acts are the very same, spoken not to any one separately, but to the eleven as a body. Clearly St. Luke understood that the same power was given to them all. He knew nothing of any Primacy of authority.

St. John's account is the fullest of all; but as he gives his statement, it is just as with the other three Evangelists, with no hint of any difference of office or authority. The eleven are absolutely equal. "As my Father hath sent me, even so

send I you." What that correspondence was between His own mission or being sent from the Father, and their mission or being sent by Him has been variously understood. By most it has been taken to mean "with the same reality of possession, and the same assurance and certainty of divine authority, and with the same power to transmit and continue that authority." The words that follow, "Whose soever sins ye remit they are remitted," have been generally claimed as the strongest conveyance of divinely-given power. Yet they name only a single instance of its exercise; whereas the other words include them all. The fulness, the completeness of ministerial authority is there. It includes all the instances, whether the power of the keys, the binding and loosing, the governing, or the teaching. "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you." Imagine for a moment these words spoken to St. Peter alone, and one word only changed: "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I thee." What a change there would have been in the Roman argument. True, they would say, it may be doubtful, as early writers confess, whether by the rock He meant St. Peter's person or the foundation truth; true, the gift of the keys to St. Peter may have only meant, as so many of the early Fathers explain it, that he by the doorway of holy Baptism was first to open the Church as God's Kingdom to

Jew and to Gentile ; true, the power to remit and to retain, promised to him, was, when actually given, given not to him alone, but to all in one body ; true, that in the same way the power to teach and to govern was given to all ; yet these, they would say, are only special instances. But here we have the grand all-inclusive commission and bestowal of power and authority ; the words that tell us who is to take up the mission and fill the place which Christ held on earth, and to be His authoritative representative. And if He says to St. Peter, " As my Father hath sent me, even so send I thee," then not Romanist only, but Greek and Anglican and all Protestants, must submit and confess that Christ's own authority and mission were continued in St. Peter.

But now reverse the argument. However we may interpret the special passages which seem to speak of St. Peter personally ; however we may ask whether in committing to St. John the care of that Blessed Mother whom Romanists now worship as Queen and Mistress of the Church, and its Divine Protectress, and as between Christ and His Church, our Lord did not make St. John the Church's guardian and leader ; all these questions are set aside when we find that the summing up and concentration of all His own authority is given, not to any *one*, but to the gathered body of Apostles in an absolute equality. And so leaving, for

the present at least, the closer study of special texts, we may safely say that not one of the four inspired Gospel writers had any thought that St. Peter had been placed in supreme authority ; for if they knew it, and failed to declare it, they must have been false witnesses for the truth of God.

But there is one incident most fully recorded by St. John, whose importance, I think, has been overlooked. Immediately after the three-fold " Lovest thou me ? " and the answers, came that most tender and touching prediction to St. Peter of the martyrdom in which he was to be crowned, ending with the familiar bidding, " Follow thou me." I am sure no one can read this whole story and imagine for a moment that St. Peter had then any idea that it gave him pre-eminence. It was but an infinitely tender probing of his conscience, with an humiliating memory of his great recent sin, followed by the comfort with which the Lord's love would bind up the broken heart. But though St. Peter was not conscious of any such thought of pride, the natural impetuousness which so often grew into officiousness, burst into expression. Turning to St. John he asks, " What shall this man do ? " The English here weakens the force. The Greek has but three words, "*ὁὗτος δὲ τί ?*" " And this man what ? " If St. Peter could have been thinking of responsibility over others, what a rebuke there was in the an-



swer! "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me." "You have no lordship over him, no responsibility for him. What the other Apostles do, or are to do, is none of your business. Be content with your own. If I will that your apostleship be short and that of this my beloved one shall far outlast yours, what is that to thee?" Instead of the bestowal of Primacy, it is its absolute and clear denial.

In answer to all this, it might be said that there are three staple texts which Rome urges in proof of her claim. The full analysis of them would be a study by itself. Was St. Peter, in person and personal office, the Rock on which the Church was to be built? or was that Rock the great truth of Christ's divinity which St. Peter was inspired to assert in words? It is hard to resist the desire to go into the matter fully, to show the distinction of gender between the *πέτρος*, the stone, and the *πέτρα*, the solid bed-rock from which the stone is hewn or loosened; and how when Rome appealed from Greek to Syriac to show that in the language which some think Christ used, the word Cepha is used in both places without change of form, it was shown also that in its second use the accompanying pronoun is distinctly feminine, and so emphasizes the difference they would gladly do away with. I would like to stop and study St. Luke's "Simon, Satan hath desired to have thee

and to sift thee as wheat, but I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not, and when thou art converted strengthen thy brethren "; and to show how perfectly it is explained, not as the bestowal of a special office, but as in pity for the Apostle who in his weakness was to fall so soon into denial, and so, more than the others, needed special prayer for him; and to study also the threefold " Lovest thou me? " with the threefold " Thou knowest that I love thee "; and the threefold renewal of apostolic commission which by threefold denial had been forfeited. But it will be enough to emphasize the absurdity of believing that upon the foundation of texts so indefinite in their bearing upon the point at issue, and so diversely understood and explained by the first Christian writers, there could be founded a claim so exacting and definite as that of a divinely given, supreme authority. I will not keep you to study the texts. Think how definitely, distinctly, openly, unmistakably, our Lord called and ordained the Twelve; and in that which Rome would make the inferior act, with what words and acts of clear precision He gave them their office, named it, declared and defined its powers, enforced its full authority and assured them of its divineness. There was no ambiguity in that. And to pass to the highest priesthood of all, think how it is written " No man taketh this honor unto him-

self, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron." Think how this is applied even in our Lord's case, who would not glorify Himself to be made an High Priest, but waited for that audible voice, "This is my beloved Son." And then think of the arrogance of those who, claiming to be successors of St. Peter, do what St. Peter never did and never would have dared to do. They do glorify themselves to be High Priests with no other warrant save those three most indecisive texts, to which the overwhelming voice of the early Church tells us they have no right at all.

Granting then, as we freely do, that up to the time of our Lord's Ascension St. Peter was in some respects a leader among the Twelve, Holy Scripture gives no other suggestion of reason for it than the simple facts that he was first called to the office in order of time, and that by qualities of natural forwardness he had what his brethren practically conceded, the capacity for leadership. It was purely personal. It was in no way official. He was simply an accepted leader among his equals in office and power. Rome itself, by the Archbishop and the Pope's approval of his work, acknowledges that so long as our Lord was with them on earth, there was no other Primacy but this. And we search in vain, after that, for any such clear designation or bestowal of authority as was demanded in every other divine call.

Passing now to the times covered by the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, I am confident that it will appear on full study that a Primacy of forwardness and of accepted leadership, but not of superior authority in St. Peter, continues up to a certain definite point, and then absolutely disappears. That definite time is the placing and recognition of St. James (probably the son of Alphaeus, commonly called "the Lord's brother") in distinct official superiority, as Bishop of the Mother Church in Jerusalem. In all mention or acts of the eleven or twelve, up to that point, there is not the slightest trace of any recognition or thought of St. Peter's official superiority by the rest; there is no trace of his own assertion of it in word or act; there is no evidence there or elsewhere in Holy Scripture that he himself had any thought at all of any such official pre-eminence; and in all the after history *others* exercised in word and deed a power of government, of authority, of discipline, of organization and of authoritative teaching, far beyond anything that appears in Peter.

It is one of the difficulties of this subject that the study of it has been confined too much to the passages which especially name St. Peter or allude to him, or seem to bear upon his exercise of official power. And the texts for these things are not many. But there is another side. What is

said of the other Apostles? Of their official position? Of their claims to controlling authority; even to the very highest authority? What is said of the recognition and acceptance of these claims? And of their own decisive acts based upon them? The mere reading of these passages would go far beyond the time permissible for this lecture. And yet, if these passages, as I hope they may be, could be gathered, analyzed, arranged, systematized, so as to bring out in Scripture words the whole story of Apostolic authority and Apostolic action, I believe it would need no further argument to set aside completely any claim to an official or divinely-given Primacy for St. Peter.

Beginning with the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, where our Lord, not yet ascended, meets with and instructs His Apostles, there is not an atom of evidence that any idea of St. Peter's Primacy was in our Lord's thought. There is certainly the plainest evidence that nothing which the Lord said or did suggested thought of such Primacy to the rest of the Apostles. He does not single him out from the rest by the slightest token. He did not instruct St. Peter and bid him instruct the rest. "He gave command unto the apostles whom he had chosen"; "Commanded them that they should not depart, etc." "They asked of him, Wilt thou, at this

time restore the Kingdom?" "He answered *them*." "Ye shall receive power"; "Ye shall be witnesses." They are the Apostles in a body to whom He speaks. Let me here give you again and more fully the statement of the Roman Archbishop Kenrick: "Whilst our Lord was on earth, He alone was Head of the Church; and Peter, although he was leader, had no authority over his brethren. At that time his precedence was rather of order or rank than of jurisdiction and government; but it was wisely so ordained that he might be prepared for the high office to which he was to be elevated." Confessedly then, he was not "elevated to that high office" while our Lord was on earth. When was he "elevated to that high office"? Where are the words of our Lord, and where His acts? Where His declaration to the other Apostles or to the Church, after our Lord's Ascension? Surely on that great Day of Pentecost, when the Apostles "received power" as promised, if one of them received more power than the others, or was "elevated to a higher office," that divinely-given rule for the authentication of human ministries must come in. "No man taketh this honor unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron." And we look in vain, where most of all it was needed, for the slightest word or act of divine declaration telling the

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Apostolic band or the Church that one of their number was elevated to an office above the rest.

Let us look for evidence then in the record of Apostolic action up to the time when St. James appears as Bishop of Jerusalem and presides in their Councils. First, St. Peter presides in their meeting in the upper room, and as chairman suggests and takes order for their action. When in any board or authorized body there is a vacancy, it is the chairman who at the proper time announces it and declares the time come for filling it and bids them prepare their ballots. This is just what St. Peter does. He announces the vacancy left by Judas, declares the business next in order to be the filling of that vacancy, and tells them to choose the man. St. Peter does not choose two. The eleven choose them. Of these two, St Peter does not claim the present Papal power of selecting one, but the choice is left to be determined of God by lot. Then comes the Day of Pentecost. They were *all* filled with the Holy Ghost and spake with tongues. "Then Peter standing up with the eleven," *i.e.*, clearly not alone and not as in authority, but as one of the now recompleted band of Twelve, took his familiar place as spokesman. And the thousands who heard so understood it. They saw both the leadership and the equality; and they said, not unto Peter alone, but to Peter and the rest of the



Apostles, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" And when they were baptized, they continued "in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship."

I omit mention of miraculous acts, because all Apostles wrought miracles alike; but as the result of the miracle wrought by Peter and John together at the Temple Gate, they were arrested. Released by Annas and Caiaphas, they went at once to the assembled Apostles and made report to them. And they joined in a united prayer, lifting up their voice with one accord, and were *all* filled with the Holy Ghost. Barnabas in sincerity lays his money "at the apostles' feet." Ananias in hypocrisy does the same, and St. Peter, the forward spokesman up to this time, speaks his condemnation, as St. Paul did it with equal effectiveness upon Elymas the Sorcerer and upon the incestuous man at Corinth. "By the hands of the apostles were many signs and wonders wrought." The people, by reason of the conspicuous miracle at the Temple Gate and St. Peter's habitual forwardness, seem to look to him as eminent in working of miracles, and seek to lay their sick where his shadow can touch them; but the inspired writer of their acts knows no difference in miraculous power, and records more instances by others than by St. Peter. If St. Peter's shadow could be proof of Primacy and power, why not St. Paul's handkerchiefs?



We come to the second deliberative assembly. "The twelve called the multitude of the disciples together." It was not the summons of a Primate. They said, "Look ye out among you seven men whom we may appoint over this business, but we will give ourselves continually to prayer and to the ministering of the word." And they chose St. Stephen and the others named, whom they set before the Apostles, "and when they had prayed, they laid their hands upon them." There is no hint or act of Primacy here, but if there were such Primacy, it must have shown itself. Here begins the story of St. Paul. St. Barnabas takes him and brings him, not to a Primate, but to the Apostles; he reports, not to St. Peter, but to *them*. St. Peter baptizes the Gentile Cornelius, and the Apostles assert their authority over St. Peter by calling him to account. He defends himself before them. They, not he, pronounced the decision—"Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life." This was the third deliberative assembly. In the first and second no trace of authority in St. Peter appears. In the third he is shown as distinctly subject to authority. And here even the Primacy of honor for St. Peter, the primacy of willing and tolerated forwardness absolutely disappears. St. James the Great is killed by the sword, and St. Peter is put in prison. Released, he goes to the

door of the house where some brethren are at prayer, bids them "go tell these things to James and to the brethren," and himself passes almost out of sight and notice. There is only one more mention of him in all the remaining record of the Acts of the Apostles, and that is in the story of the Council where, St. James presiding and pronouncing the decision, St. Peter is reported only as one of the speakers. And both the time and the tone of his speech are remarkable. He was not, as in so many earlier instances, the first speaker. It was only "after much disputing" that he expressed his opinion. Nor did he, as chief in authority, have the last word. He was followed by St. Paul and St. Barnabas, who gave their experience and opinion just as St. Peter had given his and in the same manner. And then, in entirely different tone and manner, as the last to speak, and in form and words of authority, St. James gave his decision. "My sentence is" is the translation of the accepted version. The revised version has it "My judgment is." The Greek is ἐγὼ κρίνω, "I decide." If there could be doubt as to its force and meaning, St. Chrysostom, who thought, wrote and preached in Greek as his mother tongue, will set us right. He says in his sermon on this scene, "There was no arrogance in the Church. After Peter, Paul speaks. James waits patiently and does not start

up. Great the orderliness. No word speaks John here, no word the other Apostles, but held their peace, for James was invested with the chief rule. Peter indeed spake more strongly, but James here more mildly, for thus it behooves one in high authority to leave what is unpleasant for others to say, while he himself appears in milder part." "And he speaks well with authority, ἐγὼ κρίνω, I decide." We may trust St. Chrysostom, I think.

And most remarkable is it that, after this scene, where one is so plainly his superior, St. Peter absolutely vanishes from the inspired record of Apostolic acts; and in all allusions to him in the Epistles, instead of the priority, the forwardness on his own part and the acceptance of that forwardness by others and their own deference to it, he appears in submissive and obedient position and defers to others. He accepts the rebuke of St. Paul as at least his equal. It is no longer "Peter and the Eleven," but "James and the Brethren." St. Paul goes to Jerusalem, and St. Luke says, "the next day Paul went in with us unto James." St. Peter seems to receive instruction and direction from St. James and to obey it. He had been eating with the Gentiles; but when certain "came to him from James" (the words plainly indicate messengers and a message,) "he withdrew himself." When St. Paul names the

three who seemed to be pillars, he puts St. James first—"James, Cephas and John."

But if we find St. Peter thus surrendering to St. James as Bishop of the great Mother Church, the priority of honor and forwardness which his brethren had tacitly recognized, we find, as if prepared by divine foresight, in the story of St. Paul, the claim, the exercise and the acceptance by the churches, of St. Paul's absolute authority in the Apostleship, uncontrolled by man, and accountable only to God Himself. How utterly he waves aside all human superiority, as he declares himself to be an Apostle, "not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father." How he claims infallibility in his Gospel teaching; "The Gospel which was preached of me is not of men; for I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it but by the revelation of Jesus Christ"; how he makes, not St. Peter's gospel nor the Apostles', but his own gospel, the standard; "If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached, let him be anathema." Again and again he denies any human authority superior to his own apostleship. When first called to apostleship, he says: "Immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood, neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me." It was not till after three years that he went up to see Peter and James. Then after

fourteen years he went up again; and how careful he is to tell us he was not summoned; it was "by revelation" he went up, "and communicated to the chief apostles, them which were of reputation," the Gospel which he preached; and how careful to say that it was not in council or court, but privately; a voluntary act. And in that conference he declares that he received nothing. "Of those who seemed to be somewhat" [and note the bold claim of equality in his parenthesis] "(whatsoever they were it maketh no matter to me; God accepteth no man's person;) for they who seemed to be somewhat in conference added nothing to me. But contrariwise." They recognized his full equality with St. Peter and the others in the work of the Gospel, and gave to him, not declaration of authority, but the token of that full equality, "the right hand of fellowship." Twice afterwards he declares himself "not a whit behind the very chiefest of the apostles."

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fourteen years heretofore." The Archbishop Kenrick he is to tell was Archbishop of Baltimore; there "by review of the same name, until recently Archbishop of St. Louis. In the Vatican Council he had prepared a speech which he was not permitted to deliver, but for which he secured publication. And he shows the interpretation of eighty-five of the accepted Fathers and Doctors, giving as the number of those who by the "Rock" understand St. Peter, only seventeen; out of which, four, Origen, Cyprian, Jerome and Augustine, are shown holding as equally acceptable a different interpretation, so reducing the number to thirteen; while forty-four make the faith which Peter professed to be the "Rock," and sixteen understood Christ Himself as the "Rock." Thirteen for the Roman claim; seventy-two, the Archbishop being witness, against it. But the Roman Creed of Pius IV. requires the promise "I will never take nor interpret the Holy Scriptures except in accordance with the unanimous consent of the Fathers." So out of her own mouth, Rome's claim to St. Peter as the "Rock" is made utterly void.

But I must confine myself to the Fathers of the first three centuries, and not pass the point to which I am limited. Happily for your patience there are only three or four to whom we can refer as clear. Tertullian plainly makes St. Peter the "Rock," though he asserts that the privilege given

to St. Peter died with him, and was not transmissible; that it was absolutely personal. Origen (A.D. 200-254,) preaching on these words, says "That rock is every disciple of Christ. But if thou thinkest that the Church is built by God on St. Peter alone, what dost thou say of John, the Son of Thunder and every one of the Apostles? Or shall we dare to say that the gates of hell were not to prevail against Peter in particular, but that they were to prevail against the other Apostles and perfect ones? Is it not true for each and all, what was said before, that 'the gates of hell shall not prevail against it,' and also that other saying, 'Upon this rock I will build my Church'?"

We come next to St. Cyprian, whose Christian career was from A.D. 245 to 258. And from his special relation to the Church of Rome and his strong controversies with the Bishop of Rome, his evidence is important. The passages which might be quoted are many. Some of them, though still often quoted by Roman writers as strongly in their favor, are undoubted forgeries or perversions of the true text, and have been so acknowledged, and were as such for some time omitted by fair-minded Roman editors. We omit them therefore. As to the rest, there seem to be at first very marked contradictions, and yet they may be entirely harmonized. St. Cyprian clearly recog-

nized the fact of a Primacy of honorary leadership in St. Peter personally, just as you and I would acknowledge it. He understands the word "Rock" to be spoken of St. Peter personally; just as some of the strongest opponents of Rome (notably Puller in his late convincing work) understand the same allusion, and yet see in it only a prediction of St. Peter's forwardness in the Gospel work, and no conveyance of special authority. He recognized the Church at Rome as the root and matrix of the Church, because it was the one Church in the West which had immediate apostolic founders, and from whose apostolic origin all the national Churches in the West had a secondary origin; just as Tertullian, enumerating the several Churches in the East which had Apostles as their personal founders, calls them for that reason "Matrices of the Faith." All this tells of primacy of honor or historical fact. And all this you and I would acknowledge as well. But when he comes to speak of relative authority or official power, there is no mistaking the vigor with which he utterly repudiates and scorns any thought or claim of superiority in Rome or in its Bishop. He even couples the two views in the very same utterance, and the genuineness of these passages is not disputed. As when he says, "Neither did Peter, whom the Lord chose and upon whom He built His Church, when Paul disputed with him after-

wards, claim aught for himself insolently, or arrogantly assume it, so as to assert that he held the Primacy and had a right to be obeyed by his juniors and successors." Again, we have his well-known assertion of absolute equality in the apostleship: "The episcopate is a unity of which an undivided part is held by each." And another passage in which he names the Primacy as fully consistent with equality: "Undoubtedly the other Apostles were what Peter was, endowed with equal partnership both of honor and power, but the beginning is made from singleness, that the Church may be shown to be one."

But St. Cyprian's acts are even stronger than his words, and they fix the meaning of his words if that meaning can be in doubt. Again and again did he by open act assert his absolute equality with the Bishop of Rome, and refuse to accept his decisions. When those who had been censured or condemned, in his own see of Carthage, appealed to Rome as the chief Church, he denied all right in Rome to review the case. Primacy of honor in St. Peter, and Primacy of influence in Rome, St. Cyprian did acknowledge; but as to primacy of authority for either, he constantly and consistently denied and rejected every claim to it. Excommunicated by Stephen, Bishop of Rome, he was sorry for Stephen and sorry for the breach in the Church's peace, but he went on his way as un-

troubled for himself as though it had never been.

And here may well come in the strong words of St. Firmilian of Cæsarea, in his letter to St. Cyprian upon learning the fact of the excommunication of the latter by Stephen of Rome: "I am justly indignant at the open and manifest folly of Stephen ; that he who boasts of the place of his bishopric, and contends that he holds the succession of Peter, on whom the foundations of the Church were laid, should bring in many other rocks and erect new buildings of many Churches." . . . And, seeming to address Stephen personally, he says, "But, indeed, thou art worse than all heretics. . . . What a mass of sin hast thou heaped up for thyself when thou hast cut thyself off from so many flocks. For thou hast cut off thyself. Do not deceive thyself, for he is really a schismatic who has made himself an apostate from the communion of ecclesiastical unity. For while thou thinkest that all can be excommunicated by thee, thou hast excommunicated thyself from all."

I have wearied your patience too greatly already. I cannot stop to speak of the early Paschal controversies of Polycarp and Polycrates with the Bishops of Rome ; nor to discuss the passage of uncertain meaning from Irenæus where he speaks of the "*potiorem principalitatem*," which I translate "the very strong leadership" of the Church of Rome ; their strong witness against Roman

claim to Primacy and authority will be found admirably set forth by Puller in *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*.

There remains, however, a point of very great importance: St. Peter's personal and official relations with Rome. That he was at Rome, imprisoned, put to death, buried there, we do not question. But to the question, "Was he Bishop of Rome?" we must give a different answer. There were myths in the early history of civil Rome. The stories of Romulus and Remus and the she-wolf, and of the Sabines, and Curtius and the Horatii, stir us; but who now accepts them in all their details as actual realities? And even greater is the shadowy uncertainty that hangs over the question of Rome's early Bishops. The Church of Rome now claims that he was its Bishop for twenty-five years, from A.D. 42 to 67. But the New Testament tells us that he was in Jerusalem at St. Paul's visit, and at the Council, A.D. 52, and after that he is found at Antioch. Besides, St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans is most absolute proof that when he wrote it (about A.D. 57 or 58) St. Peter was not there and had not been there as Bishop, or as in any way in authority. Not considering now the tone of authority taken in the Epistle as a whole, the fifteenth chapter is decisive. St. Paul declares that he does not build upon another man's foundation, and

plainly claims to be himself Christ's Apostle for them as Gentiles. Read that chapter, and then imagine, if you can, one of the English Bishops so writing to the Church in the See of Canterbury; or to come to absolute equals, imagine the Bishop of New York so writing to the Church in Pennsylvania or the Bishop of Pennsylvania so writing to the Church in New York, and absolutely ignoring the authority of the Bishop resident and not even alluding to him. Clearly St. Peter was not Bishop of Rome when St. Paul wrote. Irenæus tells us he was not Bishop at all. He speaks of St. Peter and St. Paul as Apostles there, and as Apostles, by joint act, committing the episcopate to Linus. There are, down to A.D. 325, only thirteen passages from the Fathers which bear upon this point of St. Peter's presence at Rome, and of the thirteen not one speaks of him as Bishop. They tell of his preaching there, of his martyrdom and his burial there, of his founding the Church there in companionship with St. Paul, of his co-operation with St. Paul, while they were both Apostles, in committing the Bishopric to Linus; but not a word of his being Bishop of Rome himself and transmitting his office to his successor. True in later days, after the claim to Roman Primacy and authority had been made, those who urge that claim find frequent opportunity for bold assertion. But it is beyond question that down to the time



of the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, not one of the accepted Fathers or writers of the Church speaks of St. Peter as Bishop. Indeed, the contrary is expressly asserted. The Apostolical Constitution makes St. Peter himself say, "Of the Church of the Romans, Linus, son of Claudia, was the first Bishop ordained by Paul; and Clemens, after Linus's death, ordained by me, Peter." Irenæus also names Linus as the first Bishop, and says he was ordained by St. Peter and St. Paul. But, plainly, if Linus was the first Bishop and Clemens the second, then St. Peter was never Bishop of Rome at all. Eusebius makes Linus first, Anacletus second and Clement third. Scarcely any two writers for several centuries agree as to the historic facts and order of succession. In one thing, however, down to 325, there is absolute agreement; St. Peter was for a time at Rome as an Apostle, and at the last in partnership with St. Paul, but he was not Bishop of Rome. It is only when we pass the limit fixed for me in this lecture, that any such claim appears; and I must leave the discussion of such statements to those who are to come after me.

And for the same reason I may be spared any discussion of the claim that St. Peter, by divine right, could and did transmit Primacy and authority to the Bishops of Rome as his successors in the bishopric. If, as we have shown, there is not



fourteen years he went up again ; and how careful he is to tell us he was not summoned; it was "by revelation" he went up, "and communicated to the chief apostles, them which were of reputation," the Gospel which he preached; and how careful to say that it was not in council or court, but privately; a voluntary act. And in that conference he declares that he received nothing. "Of those who seemed to be somewhat" [and note the bold claim of equality in his parenthesis] "(whatsoever they were it maketh no matter to me; God accepteth no man's person;) for they who seemed to be somewhat in conference added nothing to me. But contrariwise." They recognized his full equality with St. Peter and the others in the work of the Gospel, and gave to him, not declaration of authority, but the token of that full equality, "the right hand of fellowship." Twice afterwards he declares himself "not a whit behind the very chiefest of the apostles."

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ness he rebukes, approves, sets forth positive doctrine, gives laws for worship and for life! To Romans, to Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, to all it is the same; with tone of unvarying and most natural authority, unruled and unshared by any man or power on earth. Not St. Peter, but St. Paul, was made of God to give to the Church the great lessons and laws of dogmatic doctrine. Not St. Peter, but St. Paul, laid down with authority the rules for private and social Christian living. Not St. Peter, but St. Paul, gave the laws for divine service and ritual usage in ordinary public worship, and in the administration of Holy Communion. Not St. Peter, but St. Paul, in his words to Timothy and Titus, is made the divine instrument for declaring and defining the powers and duties of the Bishop, the Priest and the Deacon in the Church. No wonder that St. Augustine writes "When 'Apostle' is said, if it be not expressed what Apostle, none is understood save Paul." No wonder that St. Chrysostom declares "When you say 'Apostle,' at once all think of Paul, just as when you say 'Baptist' they think of John." And here we must end this study of the Scriptural evidence.

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fourteen years he went up again ; and how careful he is to tell us he was not summoned ; it was "by revelation" he went up, "and communicated to the chief apostles, them which were of reputation," the Gospel which he preached ; and how careful to say that it was not in council or court, but privately ; a voluntary act. And in that conference he declares that he received nothing. "Of those who seemed to be somewhat" [and note the bold claim of equality in his parenthesis] "(whatsoever they were it maketh no matter to me ; God accepteth no man's person ;) for they who seemed to be somewhat in conference added nothing to me. But contrariwise." They recognized his full equality with St. Peter and the others in the work of the Gospel, and gave to him, not declaration of authority, but the token of that full equality, "the right hand of fellowship." Twice afterwards he declares himself "not a whit behind the very chiefest of the apostles."

And who can read his Epistles and fail to note the wonderful way in which he claims every Church to which he writes as his own, as under his pastoral loving care and subject to his authority ; takes no others into partnership in that authority and knows no power between himself and the Lord ? How utterly ignorant he seems of any presence or work of another Apostle at Rome ! With what unquestioned confidence and absolute-



ness he rebukes, approves, sets forth positive doctrine, gives laws for worship and for life! To Romans, to Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, to all it is the same; with tone of unvarying and most natural authority, unruled and unshared by any man or power on earth. Not St. Peter, but St. Paul, was made of God to give to the Church the great lessons and laws of dogmatic doctrine. Not St. Peter, but St. Paul, laid down with authority the rules for private and social Christian living. Not St. Peter, but St. Paul, gave the laws for divine service and ritual usage in ordinary public worship, and in the administration of Holy Communion. Not St. Peter, but St. Paul, in his words to Timothy and Titus, is made the divine instrument for declaring and defining the powers and duties of the Bishop, the Priest and the Deacon in the Church. No wonder that St. Augustine writes "When 'Apostle' is said, if it be not expressed what Apostle, none is understood save Paul" No wonder that St. Chrysostom declares "When you say 'Apostle,' at once all think of Paul, just as when you say 'Baptist' they think of John." And here we must end this study of the Scriptural evidence.

And now, very briefly, what have the early Fathers to say? And first as to their understanding of the chief staple text urged by the Roman Church: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I

down to 325 any iota of evidence or even shadow of claim that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome; if, on the other hand, we find the post of first Bishop distinctly assigned to some one else; if we find the express assertion that not St. Peter, but St. Paul, ordained that first Bishop; if we find it said that the two Apostles acted, not as diocesan Bishops, but as Apostles; if we find not a word to show that St. Peter ever pretended to give to Linus, Clement, or any one else, a Primacy of authority over the whole Church, we may be very sure that no such Primacy was asserted or transmitted. And it would be idle to enter upon argument here upon the point whether St. Peter had the power to do what he clearly never did, nor pretended to do. The claim does appear afterwards, as coming from later Popes; but it is beyond the limits assigned to me.

I have taxed your patience, dear friends, very grievously. I see clearly that I have omitted altogether some points of importance, and passed very summarily over others; but, as I said at the beginning, the limits of a single lecture compel me. May I briefly sum up the argument.

First, the question at issue can best be stated in the clear words of the late Vatican Council: "If any one should say that Blessed Peter was not appointed of Christ the Lord, the Prince of all the Apostles, and the Visible Head of the

whole Church militant, or that he received the Primacy of honor only, and not directly one of true and proper jurisdiction from the same Our Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema.

"If any should say that it is not by the institution of Christ the Lord Himself, or by Divine right that Blessed Peter should have a perpetual line of successors in the Primacy over the Church universal, or that the Roman Pontiff is not the successor of Blessed Peter in this Primacy, let him be anathema." The claim is strong, clear, definite. It should have strong foundation and clear, definite evidence.

But we find not a word in Holy Scriptures clearly naming any such Primacy of jurisdiction, or assigning it to Peter. We do not find that the other Apostles ever alluded to it or recognized it. We do not find word or act from St. Peter himself intimating that he ever thought of it. We do find another, St. James, in authority superior to St. Peter. We find St. Paul, in word and deed, claiming and exercising an authority as Apostle in which he recognizes no human superior. We find the Churches everywhere accepting that. We find the foundation text of "the rock" upon which Rome would build her claim, absolutely set aside on Rome's own declared principles; only thirteen out of eighty-five early Fathers giving clearly the Roman interpretation. We find the



very Missal of Rome itself as used in her public worship, denying the Roman interpretation. We find St. Paul, not St. Peter, the great dogmatic teacher, organizer, authorizer and transmitter. We find not only St. Paul most emphatic in scouting any thought of authority in apostleship superior to his own, but such men as St. Cyprian, Firmilian and Origen equally bold in their rejection. We find not a shadow of evidence that St. Peter himself was ever Bishop of Rome, but on the contrary, a clear assertion that the first Bishop was ordained by St. Paul; not an atom of proof that he ever pretended to transmit Primacy; not a shadow of testimony that the first six or seven Bishops of Rome ever dreamed that they had such power. We find the whole story of those first Bishops of Rome in a mist of obscurity and uncertainty. And we find, too, an historical fact absolutely inconsistent with any Primacy of authority in the first two Bishops of Rome. There was an inspired Apostle who outlived St. Peter thirty years; even St. John, the disciple whom Jesus loved. Granting for argument's sake, that St. Peter had first authority while he lived, and that Linus or Clement succeeded him, shall we be asked to believe—will any one dare claim it—that Linus or Clement, who never saw the Lord or heard a word that fell from His lips, had authority over the Apostle who leaned upon Jesus'

bosom, and looked into the open tomb, who was of the chosen three to be with our Lord in His agony, who received from our Lord Himself the guardianship and care of her whom the Romanists worship as Guardian and Mistress and Queen of the Church, who was chosen of Christ to see Him in the final vision in Heaven and to be His authoritative rebuker and rewarder to the angels of the seven churches, who received and wrote that revelation after St. Peter's death, and who was one of the three whom St. Paul named as the Pillars—shall we believe that St. John was under the Primacy of Linus or Clement? If there was any Primate of authority on earth, from 67 to 97, it is absolutely certain that it was no Bishop of Rome, but it must have been St. John the Divine.

But how should a claim such as Rome makes, to supreme authority, be established and verified? Cardinal Bellarmine says that in dealing with the Primacy, "we are dealing with the principal matter of Christianity." Perrone, the Jesuit, says "It is the principal point of the matter on which the existence and safety of the Church altogether depends." How, then, shall such a claim be verified? Holy Scripture gives the rule. No one is to be recognized as in spiritual authority unless he can show full, clear and open proof. From Aaron down, no man could be accepted without God's unmistakable designation in the appointed



order of the Church. Prophets might rise without such official designation, but they exercised no power of government. Even our Lord Himself was not excused from that great law. We must then insist upon it. But we look for it and ask for it, in vain. If any one were to claim the Presidency of the nation, the office of Governor, the headship of a railroad, the Bishopric of a diocese or the pastorship of a parish upon evidence so vague and flimsy, he would be laughed at as a simpleton.

Rome thunders her anathemas loudly if we reject the claim; but reject it we must if we are true to Christ; and I am sure the anathemas will be as harmless to us as they were to SS. Cyprian and Firmilian and to St. Chrysostom and the other saints.

## **Sardica and Appeals to Rome.**



## LECTURE II.

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### *SARDICA AND APPEALS TO ROME.*

I AM called upon to discuss before you some canons of a Church Council, that of Sardica, A.D. 343, touching appeals to Rome. If I had to put the story of those Sardican canons in the nutshell of a single paragraph, I should write it thus:

Desperate occasions demand desperate remedies. There arose in the Eastern churches in the fourth century an occasion so novel and so desperate that some good and wise men devised to meet it a remedy not only novel, but alien to the general mind of the Church as it had been previously expressed. This strange remedy was paralleled by a wiser proposal at the time and was emphatically disowned by the Church in a General Council shortly afterwards. From that time this rejected scheme never had any influence upon

the Church's legislation, unless it were by mistake. Through mistaking or misrepresentation, however, it probably did much harm.

I propose to deal with the subject by the expansion of this statement, taking up in order, (1) the desperate condition of the East in the fourth century, (2) the remedy proposed by Athanasius and Hosius at Sardica, (3) the proof that such a remedy was a new thing, (4) the rival proposal of the Council of Antioch and its thorough adoption by the Ecumenical Council of Constantinople, and then (5) a view of some important steps in the progress of appeals to the Roman See in the next five hundred years, down to the appearance of the Forged Decretals, and the rise of what may be fairly called "The Papacy."

#### I.

##### FOURTH CENTURY CONDITIONS.

Who has not heard of "*Athanasius contra mundum*"? But have you not wondered how Athanasius could have had to stand out so "*against the world*," when the world had just become Christian? Perhaps you have heard S. Jerome's phrase, "the world groaned to find itself Arian." If so, you must surely have asked yourself how the world could have been so deceived. Well, it was just this that did it all,—Christianity became a fashion.

First, it became an *intellectual* fashion. Heathenism was a failure as an answer to the questions of the soul. Men felt it to be a failure, and even while they vowed that all religion was but guess-work, the agnostic world resolved that it was more respectable to wear the label of the Christian scheme.

This condition seems to have been especially marked in the East. In the West this great process by which heathenism broke up and melted into a freshet, threatening to overwhelm the Church in the very moment of yielding to its warmth, went on more slowly and so more safely. In the East, the popular movement toward the Church,—not toward a Catholic Christianity be it observed, but toward the *Church*, as half-converted heathen observers lazily misunderstood and thought they liked it,—that dangerous movement was held in check for ten years by the Diocletian persecution, from 303 to 313, and then the flood came. Edicts of toleration made Christianity a permitted religion for the first time in men's memory. Nay, it became known that it was to be a favored religion. The new emperor, victorious Constantine, was a Christian himself or very nearly so. To be a Christian was a way to the imperial favor. What then? With one convulsive leap Christianity sprang forward to be a *social* fashion of the East.

Do not lay it all to hypocrisy. There had been, as I have suggested, an intellectual preparation of thorough dissatisfaction with old systems. There only had not been a true understanding of the new one. Doubtless, a crowd of people had poured into the Church who were practically heathen still. No otherwise can I account for some of the horrors of fourth century Church history. These were people converted to the Church, as I have said, rather than to Christianity, and converted through their enjoyment of the Church's *accidents*—its stately worship, its poetic symbolism, its cultivated leadership, its growing success—but having no love for the Church's *essentials* of mysterious revelation and severe morality. Mostly, such men would come to the Church's doors with no thought of pretending to be other than they were. Only gradually would they discover fully that the Church's mind and theirs could not consist together. When they did discover that fact, only one conclusion would be natural to them. Not receiving the Church as a supernatural institution, they would think it a real improvement to strike out some of her traditional essentials, in order that the greatest number might with the greatest ease enjoy the Church's pleasant non-essentials.

Such men would see in the Arian movement a golden opportunity to make the Church what they



thought the Church would better be—either a boneless body, not insisting on any clear-cut dogma about the mysteries of the faith, or (as some would even prefer) a body fiercely intolerant of any mystery in theology at all. A Church not essentially Christian, or else a Church positively anti-Christian—one or the other they wanted and meant to have. No doubt, also, they regarded themselves as laborers for the true welfare of humanity. Yet, as always happens when the world undertakes to reform the Church, they grew to be thoroughly unscrupulous in their methods of gaining their desire. Their morality no more than their theology was that of Jesus Christ. Determining to make the Church a new and different institution, easier to live in than the old Church had ever been, they also (most naturally) made the bishop's throne in every see their chief point of attack. The bishop was the guardian and trustee of the faith. It was he who decided for his diocese what were the limits of toleration in religious thought, and generally, what persons could, and who could not, be admitted to communion. If there was to be a radical change in the Church's comprehension, there must be a radical change in the bishops who settled the terms of that comprehension. The innovating, Arianizing party, therefore, used every means to get bishops of their mind into the Church's sees. They also used



every means, honest or dishonest, to get catholic-minded bishops out.

Take the case of Athanasius himself. He was accused of murder, of the use of magic arts, nay, of killing a bishop, and cutting off his right hand for use in magic. He was charged with treason against the emperor, and with injury to the general interests of the empire. By a council held in another country, even in Palestinian Tyre,\* and having no possible jurisdiction over persons or affairs in Egypt, he was pronounced to be deposed from his see. Within ten years he had twice been banished from Alexandria by imperial order. (Alas! if he could have foreseen it, he was to suffer such exile three times more.) This is the most conspicuous example that could be given, but it is only an example, of a kind of procedure that was going on actively throughout the East.

One touch in this dark picture is of peculiar importance for our present study. Athanasius was banished by the emperor as well as deposed by a Church council. In other words, the state had adopted the policy of pseudo-liberalism and meant to make the Church over in its own interest. Constantine, with a statesman's instinct, had seen in the Church the one great social power that could help him hold his own unwieldy empire

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\* A.D. 335.

together, teaching loyalty as a part of religion. Therefore it was that he had appeared as a defender of the faith at Nicæa. Some pestilent persons were disturbing the unity of the Church, and the Church and her unity were precious to him and must not be disturbed. Later, he learned to take another view of things. The Church's peace was disturbed in any case, and its value as the cement of the empire was impaired. But which party was he to favor? To which should he award the final triumph? Surely, to those who would make the Church the most widely inclusive.\* The *more men* the Church could hold within her borders, the better the Church would support his throne.

That was a false reasoning. A Church which was unfaithful to the faith would not for any long time attract more souls, and would always have less power in forming consciences, than a Church which continued steadfastly to be of God. Yet bad as the argument was, it was the natural argument of a worldly soul. It is the kind of mistake that worldly souls always have made, and always will. Constantine made it, at any rate,

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\*So Constantine wrote to Athanasius before his first exile: "Now that you know my will, admit into the Church all who wish to enter: if you disobey, I will send some one to expel you." S. Ath. *Apol.* v. 59, quoted by Canon Bright, *History of the Church*, A.D. 313-451, p. 36.

recalling Arius from one exile, and sending Athanasius into another. Constantius had made it in his turn. In the now divided empire, it was the settled policy of the Emperor of the East to encourage the expulsion of Catholic bishops from their sees on any pretext whatever. In such conditions, with the Church throughout the East distracted within itself, and the state favoring the anti-Catholic side, how were faithful men to know one another in the darkness of that black and bitter night? What token could they give to one another to prove their title to one another's support?

When things are going dreadfully wrong, it is a disposition of human nature,—it is often one of the chief temptations of human nature,—to think that some machinery must certainly be devised that will compel them to go right. Sometimes new machinery will meet the difficulty. Sometimes it will not. Sometimes the new device would cure one evil and set up another. Athanasius seems to have thought that new machinery was now a necessity. He had appealed to Rome himself. Of course he had. He was tortured with false accusations and a false conviction; he was deprived of his see; he saw an Arian intruder persecuting the flock which it had been his to feed and tend. Of course, when Athanasius was banished into the Western Empire, he sought out the

chief bishop of that part of the world, and told his story and exhibited his proofs, and cried out for brotherly sympathy and help. He received them. Julius, Bishop of Rome, was a strong and zealous man. He called together a council of fifty Italian bishops at Rome and laid the case before them. They joined with him in pronouncing the vindication of their brother of Alexandria. They wrote to the East, acknowledging the communion of Athanasius and refusing that of his opponents.

It is to be observed just here that all this was extra-judicial. Athanasius was never condemned by any council of his own Egyptian bishops, but by the council of Tyre, which had no warrant in any Catholic precedent for touching his case at all. So Athanasius had protested, and he appeared before the council only because the emperor commanded it, as a matter of his civil allegiance, and because it seemed the best way of meeting the case.

Now, as one council of bishops without jurisdiction over him had proclaimed him guilty of many offences, Athanasius was glad to have another council that was no court examine his case and declare in the same extra-judicial way his entire innocence. But this experience would naturally suggest to one who had suffered as Athanasius had, and who felt the awful sinking fears for the future of Eastern Christianity that Athanasius

must have felt, what a thing it would be to introduce into the Church's judicial system some check which would either prevent unfair trials, or make sure that if bishops were put out of their places unjustly, some disinterested central authority would proclaim the shameful fact to all Catholic Christendom and unite all Catholic Christendom in behalf of the oppressed.

It was at this juncture that the Emperors Constantius and Constans agreed in summoning the bishops of the Eastern and Western Empires, respectively, to a council at Sardica\* to see if peace might be restored to the Church. Vain hope! But one hundred and seventy bishops could be assembled, and *they* came together only to fall hopelessly apart. Most of the delegates from the East were Arianizers. These with two kindred spirits of the Western delegation withdrew to Philippopolis, refusing to hold communion with men who would hold communion with Athanasius.

Most of the Western bishops with a few Eastern, Athanasius being one, remained in council at Sardica, and took thought for the Church's welfare.

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\* The modern town of Sophia, rising into political importance as the capital of Bulgaria, and centre of many of the dangerous movements that make the "Eastern Question" critical, is the lineal descendant of ancient Sardica, the new town lying a little north of the remains of the older one.



## II.

## SARDICA'S REMEDY.

We have seen the coalition of Arian treachery and imperial worldliness against the faith and order of the Church. We must now examine the Sardican scheme for defeating it. It is contained in the canons numbered 3, 4, and 5 in the Greek version. We will consider them in order.

Canon 3 is first noteworthy for being a conglomerate of three distinct subjects. One of the Latin versions, indeed, makes three separate canons out of it. The first two parts are of an old-fashioned sound. No bishop is to perform episcopal acts in any province but his own, unless invited by some of the bishops that belong there. Again, if two bishops are at variance, they must not appeal to any bishops outside their province to settle the quarrel. This latter item is worthy of attention. The Sardican Council had no idea of any natural right of bishops that felt themselves wronged to appeal to Rome, nor of Rome to hear them. But why are these provisions so curiously bunched with one which provides for a case in which a bishop *may* carry his wrong outside of his province, and bishops from outside the province may interfere with his affairs?

It is, I think, without doubt, an apologetic way of introducing a kind of legislation of which the

Church was known to be jealous. They do not wish to have it supposed that they mean to overturn *all* the "ancient customs" so solemnly safeguarded by the sixth canon of Nicæa. They are proposing to change one of them very seriously. Then they take pains to put into the same decree with their innovation, reiterated demands that otherwise the "ancient customs" shall be kept. The part of the canon that introduces appeals to Rome must be quoted at full length. Its style is cumbrous, and its Greek so bad that one feels that it must be some stenographer's, who had trouble with his notes, but I will translate it as fairly as I know how.

"If it shall appear that a bishop has been condemned, and he claims that he is not unsound, but has a good case that his trial be even renewed again, if it please your charity, let us honor the memory of Peter the Apostle, so as that letters be written from those who judged the case to Julius, the Bishop of Rome, so that if need be a second court may be constituted by means of the bishops living neighbors to the province (in question); and let him appoint judges himself. But if it cannot be established that the case is such as to require a re-trial, the decision once made is not to be annulled, but the existing settlement is to stand."

Now, here are several things that need to be

noticed. First, the pretty flourish about "honoring the memory of Peter the Apostle" means no more than that Rome was an Apostolic see of much dignity, where the faith was securely preserved.

The motive that underlay their canons required that they should state the case for Rome as strongly as they could, and this is all that they *can* say. "Let us honor the memory of Peter the Apostle." It does not necessarily imply, it cannot in fact imply, more than this. The faith of Peter is found there especially.

Second, this whole arrangement is something quite new. "Let us honor, if it please your charity!" That thoroughly implies that they were under no obligations to do anything of the sort, if they did not please. If such appeals had always gone to the Bishop of Rome before, and had been recognized by Christendom as belonging to him by right, such a phrase would have been absurd and indecent. Imagine a modern Roman council venturing to use such language about appeals to the Pope.

Third, it should be noted, certainly, that the letters are to be written to "*Julius*, the Bishop of Rome." But I must mention that point, of which much has been made by Protestant writers, only to dismiss it. The fifth canon, as we shall see, has "the bishop of Rome" without limitation.



I cannot think that the name of Julius was inserted here to limit the proposal to his occupation of the see.\*

There remains still a fourth point worthy of our most careful consideration. There is no suggestion at all here of sending any appeal to be heard *at Rome*, nor yet *by any court of the Roman bishop*. It is only suggested that when a bishop claims to have been unjustly deposed, the comprovincials who tried the case should write to Julius, Bishop of Rome, their statement of the matter, and that if he thought their judgment not probably just, he might commit the case for rehearing to the bishops of the province next to that where the case arose, with the single further privilege of sending asses-

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\* I would suggest two possible motives for inserting the name of Julius here. In days when communication even between great centres was so difficult and so limited, compared with what it is now, these canons might come to be added to the collections of many sees where the name of the Bishop of Rome was not familiar. It would be convenient, even some years later, to be able to address a letter "to Julius, Bishop of the city of the Romans, or to any who shall have succeeded him in that office," rather than merely "to the Bishop of the Roman Church."

On the other hand,—for my second suggestion is somewhat of an opposite kind,—the mention of the name of Julius would be conciliatory to some, where Julius was well known as a man of character and power.

sors, if he chose,† to take part in the new trial. This privilege of ordering a new trial by a new set of judges, even with the further privilege of sending some of the new judges one's self, may indeed be called "an appellate jurisdiction," but it is a curiously different thing from what appellate jurisdiction now means to the Roman see.

But all this is to be where the original judges will consent to send their action to Bishop Julius for review. Suppose they do. Then it is very properly added by our fourth Sardican canon that they must not treat the deposed bishop's see as vacant, and put another person into it, unless and until the Bishop of the Romans has taken cognizance of the matter and decided that the appellant has no case for rehearing. This is, of course, only decent. If judges invite a review of one of their decisions, they cannot at the same time treat their own decision as a finality. The fourth canon needs no comment.

But if the judges are not willing to invite such a review of their acts, the fifth Sardican canon

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† It might be a question whether "let him appoint judges," in Canon 3, means (a) "let him appoint which of several neighboring provinces is to be the scene of the new trial," or (b) "let him pick out from among the bishops of some neighboring province a group who shall act as triers," or (c) "let him send assessors." The analogy of Canon 5 determines in favor of this last.

proposes a relief for the deposed bishop, which he may take into his own hands.

Bishop Hosius said (all these canons are thus introduced with the proposer's name): "It is our pleasure that if any bishop be accused, and the bishops of his district shall have assembled, and removed him from his position, and he shall have fled as an appellant to the most blessed Bishop of the Church of the Romans, and he be willing to hear him, and shall think it proper to have a new investigation of the man's case, he shall vouchsafe to write to those brother bishops who are next neighbors to the province (of the accused), that they may search diligently and accurately into every charge, and give their votes upon the case according to what they believe to be true. And if any one claiming that his case should be reheard, shall also succeed by his petition in inducing the Bishop of the Romans to send presbyters from his own surrounding, it is to be within the power of the bishop himself to do whatever he may consider to be desirable and determine to be necessary—that some be sent out to act as judges along with the bishops, having the authority of him by whom they were sent, and this to be a settled thing; or if he thinks that the bishops are sufficient to try the case, and decide it, he shall do whatever seems to his most excellent judgment desirable."

This is the same as the third canon, except that the motion comes from the deposed bishop exclusively, his original judges being assumed to be unwilling to have the case reviewed. That would be the most common condition. It was the condition of Athanasius himself. Such a bishop was here encouraged to go to the Bishop of Rome and complain that he had not had justice done him; and then it was proposed that the Bishop of Rome should ask the bishops of the next province, as before, to hear the case anew. Also, as before, the Bishop of Rome might send some of his own presbyters to the place of the new trial, to act as assessors therein, or if he thought that justice was perfectly safe without that precaution, he might leave it to the new court of the neighboring bishops only. Those sounding words, "It is to be within the power of the bishop himself to do whatever he may consider to be desirable and determine to be necessary," mean only that he can use his own judgment about *this matter* of sending assessors to take part in a new trial,—only this and nothing more.

*This is all* that the Sardican fathers proposed. At the risk of being tedious, I am going to repeat that they manifestly proposed a new thing, and that even this new proposition manifestly gave no authority for any bishop of Rome to hear, either

by himself or with his comprovincial bishops, any cause arising in another diocese.\* He was not made a judge, but a sort of grand jury of *one*, to say whether a case should go to trial. Still less (if possible) is there any hint of any authority in the Bishop of Rome to call any case before him on his own motion. Simply, if a bishop feels that he has not had justice done him at home, and can not get it in these disturbed times, he may appeal to the chief bishop of the quieter part of the Church, and ask him to insist that an oppressed brother shall have a fair trial. Of course, if such a demand was disregarded, the Bishop of Rome would refuse his communion to those who should thus oppress the weak.

Just here, let me say that there is one more noteworthy thing in these Sardican canons. It is the phrase "Bishop of Rome."

It is an instinct of our nature to honor a very special office with a very special title. Metropolitan, Archbishop, Primate, Exarch, Patriarch, Pope, all these *names* stand for *things*. Yes, and conversely, no great distinctive fact of power can long exist without giving birth to a title of corresponding dignity. It may seem a small matter, this reference to the head of the most dignified see

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\* For the meaning of "diocese," as used here, see note on the next page.

in Christendom as "Bishop of Rome," as simply, as fraternally, as equally, as if it had been a bishop of Sardica, or a bishop of some obscure Eugubium, that was named. That little fact is a little straw showing the direction of the Church's mind, and that the Church had *not* been for nearly 300 years looking to the Bishop of Rome as having authority different from that of other Bishops in the affairs of the Church outside of Italy. In Italy he was metropolitan of his province, and Archbishop or Exarch of the *Roman Diocese*,\* as the word was then used, *i.e.*, of the seven provinces of middle and southern Italy with the three of Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, but to the rest of the Church Catholic he was simply "Bishop of Rome," no less, no more.

It is unhistorical to call any bishop of Rome "the Pope" down to the time of Nicholas I. (A D.

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\* In the fourth century what we now call a diocese was known as a parish, in Church Greek *παρoικία*, but it had no "Diocesan Convention" under any name, and was in fact so obscure and humble a member of the province to which it belonged that it is not often mentioned by any title at all. One of the few examples is in Canon XVIII. of Ancyra, which may be read in Fulton's *Index Canonum*. Single sees were grouped together into a province or eparchy (*ἐπαρχία*), and all their law-making was done by the council of bishops of the province, meeting once or twice a year. The province was originally a civil division of the Roman Empire, and the Church always adapted itself to the framework thus pro-

858) and the promulgation of the false decretals as the law of western Christendom. Not till eight hundred years of Christian history had gone on record, did "the Bishop of the Church of the Romans" come to be an officer so different from other bishops as this title of "the Pope" implies. He was indeed "the Pope of the Romans." Every bishop was the Pope, the reverend father, of his own city. But he was not thought of, even at Sardica, as the only Pope in the world, nor as Pope of the whole Church, nor as Pope in any sense that distinguished him from other Popes.

There is a very striking bit of correspondence of the ninth century, that illustrates what I mean. The Roman bishop of the day (circa A.D. 833) rebukes certain bishops of Gaul for addressing him

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vided. Every province of the civil government was also a province of the ecclesiastical.

The word diocese (*διοίκησις*) was used for one of the greatest divisions of the Roman Empire, Egypt, for example, being a diocese, and the Pontic Diocese, in northern Asia Minor, being large enough to include thirteen provinces. The present writer ventures to think that the adoption of the civil diocese with its exarch as a model for the Church to follow in organization was one of the signs of growing secularization and of a failing sense of the independence and equality of all bishops. Yet our own country is naturally growing to be a diocese in that old sense, with many provinces of related sees, only that we may hope never to see any bishop admitted to be a governor over his peers.

as "pope" and "brother." He makes the point that the two words are incongruous; if he is their pope, he is not their brother. Very true, we may all say, and conversely, if their brother, not their pope. In the fourth century "the Bishop of the Church of the Romans" was a very important person, because of his important flock, but he was brother, not pope, of all bishops outside of the Roman diocese. Read persistently "the Bishop of Rome" instead of "the Pope," in studying in modern books the history of the first eight centuries, and it will make a great difference in the look of them. You will see them as they really were.\*

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\*Pope was a common title of bishops so late as the sixth century. It is used of the bishops of Constantinople and Alexandria in the acts of the sixth General Council (of Constantinople, A.D. 681). Even at this day the official title of the bishops of Alexandria is no less than this: "Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, Libya, Pentapolis, and all the preaching of S. Mark, and Ecumenical Judge."

The title of "Pope" was first decreed to belong to the Bishop of Rome exclusively, by a Roman council in the days of Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), A.D. 1073. Of course the Eastern Church paid no heed to that piece of insolence.

Returning to the phraseology of these Sardican canons, it is noteworthy that Bishop Hefele, scholarly and fair-minded as he is, regularly substitutes "Pope" for "Bishop of Rome" and such like expressions, in his paraphrases. The real language of the fourth century is intolerable, or at least thoroughly unnatural, on his tongue.



## III.

THE SARDICAN SCHEME NOT A PART OF THE  
CHURCH'S LAW BEFORE SARDICA, NOR  
MADE SO AT SARDICA.

I. I have considered the motives that must have influenced the Sardican fathers and the actual features of their scheme. I have interpreted it as bearing marks of novelty on its face. I must now proceed to show that no such scheme was as a matter of fact a part of the Church's law in the preceding century.

Had the judicial appeal to Rome been an acknowledged right in the earlier and purer days of the Church? We are not without a sharp and definite answer. The great city of Rome was as much a central resort of scamps, scallawags, cranks, adventurers, visionaries, and men with a grievance, as London and New York are to-day. Inventors of heresies, founders of schisms, deposed bishops, and priests with reputation hopelessly broken at home, poured into Rome as into a sewer. Generally they flattered the Roman bishop. Sometimes they met with an exceedingly kind reception. But I know no case in which any such protégé of Rome was ever in the first three centuries restored to his see, or to his priesthood, or to the communion of the home Church from which he had been expelled, or even

granted a rehearing of his case in his own province or its neighborhood. On the contrary, we can prove from St. Cyprian's letters that no such right of appeal was recognized by two churches most likely, one might have said, to furnish examples of it, namely, those of North Africa and Spain.

(a) The African Church refused most firmly to revise its judgments, or allow them to be revised, because of any contrary impressions at Rome. Take Cyprian's letter to Cornelius of Rome concerning Fortunatus and Felicissimus, a bishop and a deacon, who had been to Rome with complaints of bad treatment in their own province. It is letter lix., § 19, in the Oxford Library of the Fathers; liv., § 14, in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library. St. Cyprian did not believe in appeals to Rome. These are his words: "For since it has been decreed by our whole body and is alike equitable and just, that *every cause* should be *there heard, where the offence has been committed*. . . . It therefore behooves those over whom we are set, not to run about from place to place, nor by their crafty and deceitful boldness break the harmonious concord of bishops, but there to plead their cause where they will have both accusers and witnesses of their crime."

But it may be suggested that this is still consistent with the Sardican scheme. The objection would lie against a trial in Italy, but not against

St. Cornelius's ordering one in the next province. But hear St. Cyprian again. He does much more than disapprove of people's running from Africa to Rome. He gives notice that the case is *settled*, and nothing that Rome can say can unsettle it again. "*Already* has their cause been heard; *already* has sentence been given concerning them; nor does it accord with the dignity of prelates to incur blame for the levity of a changeable and inconstant mind." It is a plain declaration from a scholar and saint and martyr: "When the African Church has judged a case among its own members, Rome *shall not* be allowed to interfere."

(b) After writing thus to his brother, Cornelius, St. Cyprian is found a few years later encouraging certain Spanish Christians to pay no attention to Cornelius's successor, Stephen. Basilides, Bishop of Leon, has been deposed on a charge of lapsing into idolatry in time of persecution. He has gone to Rome and persuaded Bishop Stephen that he is a much abused man. Stephen has granted communion to this Spaniard and endeavored to get him restored to his see, for which another had already been consecrated. What Stephen may have written to the Spanish churches, we know not. But we do know of their appealing to the African bishops for advice, and this is part of what they got in return.

St. Cyprian writes for himself and thirty-six other bishops—the letter is numbered lxxvii. in both of the libraries before referred to—to say that the Spaniards have done perfectly right and could not have done anything else. “Neither,” he says in § 5—“Neither can it rescind an ordination rightly perfected, that Basilides, after the detection of his crimes and the baring of his own conscience even by his own confession, went to Rome and deceived Stephen, our colleague, placed at a distance, and ignorant of what had been done and of the truth, to canvass that he might be replaced unjustly in the episcopate from which he had been righteously deposed.”

The point of St. Cyprian’s contention plainly is not only that “Stephen, our colleague,” had been *deceived*, but that the affairs of the Spanish churches were none of his proper business anyhow. Suppose that a man who has a right to sit as an appellate judge, and is so sitting, or suppose that a man who simply has the right suggested at Sardica, to send a case to a court somewhere else for a new trial, has been grossly deceived, and being so deceived, has pronounced a legal decision. It is of no avail to say that the judge was deceived. It is of no avail to prove that fact ten times over. The unjust decision of the deceived judge must stand till it is reversed in some legal way. If the judge himself found out the decep-

tion, that would not of itself reverse his unjust sentence. St. Cyprian was too good a lawyer, and too sensible a man not to know all that. If Basilides had deceived a real judge, a person who had a judicial claim to hear his appeal, the deception would have accomplished a great deal. But to St. Cyprian the Bishop of Rome was simply not a judge at all, outside of the "Roman Diocese," and therefore his judgment need not be considered by those who knew it to be a misjudgment.\*

In fact, St. Cyprian's letters prove abundantly that in the second century there was no such thing as a *recognized* judicial appeal to the Roman See from Africa; there was no such appeal from Spain.

2. I must now add that if there was no general

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\* Much more than this, this unfortunate "Stephen, our colleague," gets the following severe measure dealt out to him in the close (§ 9) of the letter: "Wherefore, although there have been found some among our colleagues, dearest brethren, who think that the godly discipline may be neglected, and who rashly hold communion with Basilides and Martial, such a thing as this ought not to trouble our faith, since the Holy Spirit threatens such in the Psalms, saying, 'But thou hatest instruction, and didst cast my words behind thee: when thou sawest a thief, thou consentedst unto him, and hast been partaker with adulterers' He shows that they are partakers and sharers with other men's sins, who are associated with the delinquents."

After more of this sort, he concludes: "For which reason,

Church law before the Council of Sardica, granting an appeal to Rome, the Sardican scheme itself was certainly not such a law. I have reserved till now the important question what authority those bishops at Sardica had any way, to impose a new law upon all Catholic Christendom. The answer is simply, "None whatever." If they had been the bishops of a province, they could have made laws for their province. If they had been the bishops of a diocese, they could have made laws for their diocese. If they had been the bishops of the *world*, they could have made laws for the *world*. As a fact, they were less than one hundred in number.\* They certainly did not represent the hundreds of provinces and thousands of bishops of that day in such wise as to give any

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we not only approve, but applaud, dearly beloved brethren, the religious solicitude of your integrity and faith, and exhort you, as much as we can by our letters, not to mingle in sacrilegious communion with profane and polluted priests, but maintain the sound and sincere constancy of your faith with religious fear. I bid you, dearest brethren, ever heartily farewell." St. Cyprian evidently regarded his colleague of Rome as guilty of "sacrilegious communion with profane and polluted priests," and as partaker with their sins, and he didn't hesitate to say so.

\* The whole original number was about 170, according to St. Athanasius, who was there. The seceders numbered 76, which would leave about 94. Hefele gives reason for fixing the number conjecturally at 97.

ground for calling their meeting a General Council. Their meeting never was so accredited in ancient times. Their letter, indeed, in defense of Athanasius and the Nicene Faith, would seem to have been signed by all of them and by some 190 bishops afterwards, about one half of these (94) being Egyptians, and 27 from Cyprus and Palestine being the sole remaining representatives of the populous East. But how many, even of these, accepted *the canons*? That we cannot tell. We find among the signatures the name of Gratus of Carthage, the North African primate, and yet these canons were so utterly disregarded in the African Church that seventy-five years later no African bishop was aware of their existence. Plainly, they were not felt to be binding everywhere as Catholic laws of the Catholic Church, nor can the Sardican bishops be supposed to have made any such tremendous blunder as to imagine that they were making ecumenical laws, which all churches everywhere were bound to receive and obey. Their proposal was simply and solely a proposal cast in the form of binding decrees, so that it might become the law of Christendom, if it could win the assent of Christendom.\*

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\* No doubt it will seem to some readers a very heresy of history, but I am bound to express my conviction that this is true of all canons of *discipline* of all, even ecumenical, councils. They have been suggestions to the Church—sugges-

No doubt, some of those who voted for these canons hoped that they would gain such universal assent and become a part of the universal law. But most certainly there was no power at Sardica that could make such laws, and as such laws the Church of that age did not receive them. They were only a suggested scheme of law, an amiable *eirenicon*, and they met the common fate of eirenic schemes,—that of a more or less contemptuous disregard. They do not seem to have been obeyed by any person whatever in the remaining course of the fourth century, with all its struggles and all its difficulties. The West did not need them; the East would not have them.

## IV.

THE RIVAL SCHEME OF APPEALS; ITS BASE  
PARENTAGE AND NOBLE ADOPTION.

The East would not have them, I have said. The East had already made a serious proposal of

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tions from a weighty authority, to be sure, but having no force of law in any province but by the acceptance of them on the part of the majority of the bishops of that province. Most canons of General Councils really represented, as one can see that commonly they would, a general feeling of the Church, and so got a general acceptance. But if either Rome or Alexandria disliked a regulation adopted by a General Council, such a great Church never felt bound to accept such a regulation as part of the Church's general law.

Surely they were right. Only the universal episcopate



its own, looking to a system of appeals. The proposal came from a bad source, but it illustrates strikingly the fact that the wrong side in a great controversy has usually its share of good and wise men.

The Council of Antioch was called in connection with the dedication of a magnificent new church, "the Golden Basilica," which had been built by imperial liberality, and it had assembled two years before Sardica, A.D. 341. It had been composed of ninety-seven \* bishops, mostly of that mildly unorthodox type, of which it might be said, "They object to the *phrase*, 'of one substance with the Father,' rather than to what it means. They are imposed upon by Arius, rather than followers of Arius." But whatever their orthodoxy or unorthodoxy, merit or demerit, personally, these bishops adopted a set of canons so wise and useful

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has a right to make a universal law for Christendom. The case of the faith is different. *That* is a matter of *testimony*. Every faithful witness gives the same testimony as to what has been from the beginning the necessary faith of Christians. Three witnesses, or three hundred, if faithful to the Church's trust, will give the same testimony as three thousand and give it just as certainly.

But three hundred cannot claim any inspiration or authority, which shall empower them to regulate practice for the three thousand, their brethren, having an equal responsibility with them for the Church's good government.

\* A curious coincidence with the number made out for Sardica.

and so truly representative of the Church's mind that it gained wider and wider adoption. Even the prejudice against receiving anything from a council known as "Arian" could not prevent this tide of popular favor from rising to a flood, so that 110 years later these canons of unorthodox parentage were adopted as part of the ecumenical law of the Church by the great Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon.

What, then, had Antioch found to say about appeals? Just this. Canon XIV. decrees that if a bishop has been deposed by the bishops of his province *by a divided vote*, the metropolitan is to call upon bishops of the neighboring province to assist in a new trial. Canon XV. decrees that if a bishop has been deposed by his comprovincials *by a unanimous vote*, the matter is to be considered settled, and there is to be no appeal at all. Vain is it to call this a "Council of Eusebians." It represented truly the general mind of the Church, throughout the East with rarest exceptions, and in North Africa, and probably more widely still, and at any rate its scheme received the sanction of an ecumenical council, a sanction which the Sardican proposal never had.\*

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\* It is said that the canons of Sardica were adopted at the quasi-Ecumenical Council known as the Trullan or Quinisext Council, held at Constantinople, A.D. 692. This is generally true, but we must leave room for the following facts:

But that is not all, nor nearly all. The scheme of Antioch did not have to wait a century for ecumenical approval. Within forty years from the Council of Antioch, and within thirty-eight from that of Sardica, a truly ecumenical council was held at Constantinople.\* Its second canon is a blow in the face to the Sardican scheme, though it mentions neither Sardica nor Antioch. "The bishops of a diocese," it says, and it must be remembered here that "diocese" means one of the greater divisions of the Roman Empire, with

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(1) The 3 Sardican canons about appeals were entirely inconsistent with some other legislation which we know to have been adopted by this Trullan Council. One wonders whether it was the Sardican canons, *with those three dropped out* that were so highly sanctioned. (2) Photius, a learned scholar and patriarch of Constantinople (A.D. 867), declared that these Sardican canons about appeals had never been received in that Church of Constantinople. Certainly, the canons in question did not gain ecumenical acceptance. It is quite possible that they may have been adopted with an understanding that they applied only to the West. And as to the value and authority of this particular council, we have this curious fact, (3) that Sergius, Bishop of Rome, was so bitter against it ~~that~~ he said that he would die rather than subscribe its canons. It does not lie in a Roman mouth to make much of the greater or less acceptance of these canons by such a council as that.

\* The second General Council (of Constantinople, A.D. 381) was attended by only 150 bishops, but it has had universal acknowledgment as a true ecumenical council, both then and ever since.

a number of provinces and perhaps some hundreds of bishops' sees in it,—“The bishops of a diocese are not to invade churches lying outside of their bounds, nor bring confusion on the Churches; but let the Bishop of Alexandria, according to the canons, alone administer the affairs of Egypt.” And so it goes on with a series of examples too long to quote; but note that cruel phrase, “according to the canons.” It means, of course, “according to the general tenor of that body of law that has gained general acceptance in the Church.”

The Sardican canons, which had, with all purity of purpose, and with the support of Athanasius and Hosius, proposed a different treatment of episcopal rights and responsibilities, are here ignored as if they were no canons at all. I suppose that that was just the way the 150 Fathers felt about it.

“And the aforesaid canon concerning dioceses being observed,” so the Council goes on to say: “It is manifest that in every *province* the *synod of the province* will administer matters, in accordance with the decisions of Nicæa.” I cannot do better than subjoin the comment of the Roman Catholic scholar, Bishop Hefele: “This canon further orders that in each ecclesiastical province the provincial synod shall govern, and therefore that in those provinces into which the patriarch-

ate is divided, the patriarch or chief metropolitan is not to exercise entire power. This the Synod of Nicæa had already tried to prevent. THEREBY, TOO, THE APPEAL TO ROME WAS EXCLUDED.”\*

The second canon of Constantinople had thus provided *negatively*. No bishop was to interfere in a diocese outside his own. The sixth canon of the same council provides in a *positive* way for the matter of appeals. If the Provincial Synod cannot settle matters, “the parties must betake themselves to a greater synod of the bishops of that diocese called together for this purpose.”

The closing words of the canon are noteworthy. “And if anyone despising what has been decreed concerning these things shall presume to annoy the ears of the emperor, or the courts of temporal judges, or dishonoring all the bishops of the province shall dare to trouble an ecumenical synod, such a one shall by no means be admitted as an accuser, inasmuch as he has cast contempt upon the canons, and brought reproach upon the order of the Church.”

Here are three important points, on which we have the judgment of an ecumenical council.

(1) For a bishop to make an appeal from his

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\* The small capitals are of course mine ; but the judgment is Bishop Hefele's, and is crushing enough as he prints it himself — *Hefele's History of the Councils*, Oxenham's Translation, edition of 1876, vol. ii., p. 356.

comprovincial bishops to any power beyond the bishops of neighboring provinces in the same civil diocese of the empire, was to cast contempt upon the canons which the General Church approved. The Sardican proposal, then, is condemned as a sort of contempt of court, as having been "in contempt" of all the general course of legislation in the Church.

(2) Any such appeal by a bishop dishonors all the bishops of his province. Precisely. That is just what Sardica did. In their distress and dismay at the increasing corruption and treachery that was spreading through the East, Athanasius and Hosius agreed in recommending a policy which implied that the Church's bishops could not be trusted in some large spheres of the Church's action. Constantinople refused this policy of despair, and looking through the already breaking clouds, insisted on a general policy of trust in the honor and honesty of the Church's heads. If the Church was to be saved at all, it could best be saved on its old familiar lines.

(3) There is no mention of appeals to Rome here at all. Why? Canon II. had already cut them off, for *one* thing. Even Hefele acknowledges it. But why were they not mentioned for condemnation with the other false policies, of appeals to the emperor, appeals to civil courts, and appeals to an ecumenical council? Manifestly

because they did not occur. The Sardican scheme had fallen so utterly flat, that churchmen who disapproved of it found no examples of it to trouble themselves with. Eastern bishops did run to the emperor. They did go to civil courts improperly. They did carry to a general council complaints too petty to call for so august settlement. They *did not* find themselves attracted toward the Bishop of Rome enough to make it worth while, right here, to mention him. Such is the judgment of Constantinople upon Sardica, of the ecumenical council accepted by the whole Church upon the unauthoritative assembly, whose scheme the whole Church set aside.

## V.

### THE UNQUIET GHOST OF SARDICA, AND SOME STEPS IN THE PROGRESS OF THE AP- PEAL TO ROME.

Here ought to end the history of the Sardican Canons of Appeal. Set aside by a general council, they should have had no further influence upon the Church's legislation or administration. They *never had*, as I stated at the beginning of this lecture, unless by mistake or misrepresentation. Yet such mistaking and misrepresenting were made, and made persistently. The real canons of Sardica were slain at Constantinople, or

if they were dead already, they were there buried, never to rise again, but their ghosts walked the stage uneasily in the western world, and helped to deepen tragedy there.

1. Their first open appearance in this guise is in A.D. 418 and in North Africa.

Apiarius, a priest of Sicca, accused of infamous sins and crimes, goes to Rome and enlists the favor of the Bishop Zosimus. Zosimus grants the man communion, and even sends a legate and letters to Carthage with a demand upon the North African Church. Apiarius must be restored to his position, or his bishop, Urban, must come to Rome to answer the charges of injustice that have been preferred against him. With this the messenger of Zosimus produces three canons, labelled XXI., XXII., XXIII., of Nicæa. Will it be believed? They are no other than our Sardican canons, with most shameless fraud or with most shameful ignorance, imposed as Nicene.

A general council of the bishops of all the African provinces is assembled (at Carthage, A.D. 419). They all know only twenty canons of Nicæa, and none such as these; but to charge their venerable brother of Rome with forgery is impossible. They point out with much dignity that even the canons in question admit no appeal of a *mere priest* (such as Apiarius) to the Bishop of Rome, and that no bishop (such as Urban) can under their authority



be called to Rome for trial. *Such* a proposal they declare roundly to be "unmentionable and intolerable." But they are ready to agree that these canons shall be accepted as law for the African Church till they can learn from the East whether they are truly canons of Nicæa, and till another general council of the African diocese can be held to consider the matter again.

It is to be noted that not a single African bishop knew the canons of Sardica as such, so far were they from having become a part of the Church's living law. But as the result of what looks like fraud, and was certainly an imposture, the African Church did live under the dominion of these Sardican canons, ruling from their grave for the space of from five to seven years. One year sufficed to unmask the shameful imposition, but it was not till A.D. 424 or 426\* that so great

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\* The former date is Hefele's, the latter Tillemont's.

To this brief period belongs the case of Anthony of Fussala, sometimes alleged as one in which the great St. Augustine acknowledged the existence of a right of appeal from Africa to Rome. Of course he did—for the five years, or, possibly, seven, during which the agreement above mentioned remained in force. Besides, the imperial rescript of Gratian, presently to be dealt with, was in force as a matter of the civil law, and, however much a sound churchman might regret it as an intrusion upon the Church's rights and an invasion of the Church's principles of self-government, it must be obeyed, unless a man was ready to take the responsibility of rebellion and revolution.

a body as a general council of Africa could be gathered again to throw off the outrageous yoke.

2. But if this is the first open appearance of the ghost of buried Sardica, it is not the first nor most important example, probably, of its influence. The system of appeals to the Roman See is built upon two great steps, neither one of which was laid in place by the Church. Both were the work of the civil power. Yet it is a very reasonable guess that the civil authority may have been guided on both occasions by the pointing finger of this ghostly apparition that posed as the Church's venerable law.

(a) The first of these great foundations of power was laid by the Emperor Gratian, A.D. 378. He was petitioned by an Italian synod to order that deposed bishops refusing to give up their sees, or metropolitans of provinces accused of misdemeanor, should be sent to Rome by the civil authorities for trial before the bishop of that see. He was also asked to give every aggrieved bishop in the Italian prefecture the right of appeal to Rome and apparently of retrial there. All this was far beyond the Sardican idea, which did not allow any trials to be taken to Rome, but only that a new trial might be ordered in a neighboring province, and perhaps with some assessors sent from Rome, and it was curiously opposed to the spirit shown in the canons of the general council of

Constantinople three years later, when the Church had a chance to speak. But Gratian granted all, and more than all. The synod had asked for such a law to cover the Italian prefecture. Gratian, in his edict, included the prefecture of Gaul, which carried with it Britain, and the two pro-consulates of Spain and Africa.

At Constantinople the Church said to the Roman bishop, "You may not go outside of your group of suburbicarian provinces." At Rome the emperor had already said, "You may extend your patriarchate through every corner of the Western Empire, and I will support you with the civil power." No doubt the emperor wanted the support of a Church having a powerfully centralized secular unity. There is but little doubt that he thought also that he was carrying out a precedent of the Church's own making. The ghost of Sardica was abroad. No wonder that in spite of the Church's prohibition of appeals to Rome, the running of bishops to Rome and the summoning of bishops to Rome grew and multiplied.

(b) The second of the great Roman foundations was laid by Valentinian III., an imperial weakling, under the dictation of Leo, first Roman bishop of that name. Leo was well worthy of his "lion" name, and of his later title of "the Great"; but he makes a bad figure here. A deposed bishop from Gaul comes to him for aid and com-

fort. St. Hilary, metropolitan of Arles, and one of the noblest Christians of that dark day, crosses the Alps on foot in the humble guise of his apostolic poverty, not to accuse him whose cause has been judged in Gaul already, but solemnly to complain that such a one has been granted the communion of the Roman Church. This venerable saint suffers threats, and hardships, even to imprisonment, but steadfastly refuses to hold fellowship with one whom the bishops of Gaul have judged and removed from their communion. He finally escapes from his confinement and makes his way back to Gaul, never for a moment wavering in maintaining the Gallican liberty of *no appeal to Rome*. It is in these conditions that Leo draws from the emperor (A.D. 445) a rescript transcending even that of Gratian. "The peace of the churches will only then be preserved," it says, "when the whole body of them *acknowledge their ruler*," and it presently decrees "by a perpetual edict," that "nothing shall be attempted contrary to ancient custom\* either by the Galli-

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\*Valentinian must have been taught extremely unhistorical views as to what was the "ancient custom" of the Catholic Church in matters of government. Nothing could be more thoroughly contrary to the Church's older use than this subjection of Christ's equal and independent bishops to the authority of another bishop in another province and even in another "diocese."

can bishops or by the bishops of other provinces, without the authority of the venerable man, the pope of the eternal city;\* but whatever the authority of the apostolic see has sanctioned or shall sanction, that that be held by them and by all for a law; so that if any of the bishops shall neglect, when summoned, to come to the tribunal of the Roman prelate, let him be forced to come by the civil governor of the province."

Thus the second great step in the process of making Rome the supreme court of Western Christendom was made, as the first was, the State encroaching, the Church protesting. Well says Father Puller, in his admirable and delightful book, "*The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*" (pp. 205, 206), "There is nothing more absolutely certain than that the Papal *jurisdiction* outside the suburbicarian provinces mainly arose out of the legislation of the State. One may truly say that Erastianism begat it, and forgery developed it."

One may pass over four centuries more without finding any very marked advance in the develop-

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\* Note that it is still the "pope" of a particular city, not the one universal, exclusive pope of the whole world, that the Bishop of Rome was understood to be, even in the mind of an emperor controlled by such a pope of the eternal city as Leo the Great!

ment of appeals to the Roman See.\* Then, A.D. 861, Hincmar, one of the ablest of Gallican archbishops, deposes his suffragan, Rothad of Soissons, and the deposed bishop makes Rome his refuge. Again the canons of Sardica are appeal-

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\* It is interesting, but not very important, that the bishops of the English Church accepted at the Council of Hertford (A.D. 673) a collection of canons which must probably have contained those of Sardica. It was a volume presented by Theodore of Tarsus, then Archbishop of Canterbury, and it is pretty sure to have been the collection of Dionysius Exiguus, made about A.D. 500, and representing for long after the popular idea of what was generally binding law in the Western Church.

But two things are worthy of notice in connection with this: (1) None of these canons were binding upon the English Church as an independent province, unless by the acceptance of the authorities of that province, and what was made law by the authorities of that independent province, the authorities of that independent province had a right at any later time to abrogate. (2) There is no example of the application of the Sardican scheme to England. Thus in A.D. 678, when Wilfrid of York appealed against Archbishop Theodore to Agatho of Rome, Agatho did not call upon the bishops of any neighboring province, Scotland, Ireland, or Gaul, to hold a trial, but heard the case himself with a council of fifty Italian bishops. He followed the scheme of Valentinian rather than that of Sardica, which never was put in practice anywhere at all. It is pleasant to add that the English Church of that day resented his interference very sharply and very properly, and did not submit to it for a moment, which is all the more noticeable, because on the merits of the original question Wilfrid was quite right, and Theodore quite wrong.

ed to as if they were of living authority, and the light of scholarship is found to have died down so low that there is no resistance to their claim. But presently the pope takes a higher tone. It is Nicholas I. who now sits in the Roman bishop's chair, and the forged decretals have just been put into his too willing hands. Hincmar had been prepared to submit to the Sardican scheme, but he had contended (rightly) that it merely allowed the bishop of Rome to order a new trial by neighboring bishops, with assessors sent by himself, and certainly not to call either party, either bishop or metropolitan, to Rome, nor to sit as judge in the cause himself. The answer is startling. Nicholas would have called this case before him, even if Rothad had not appealed.

Sardica is now brushed aside. The poor old ghost is of no use any more. A far more terrifying, and alas! an even more unhistorical apparition is now on the scene. The Forged Decretals are accepted as history. The light of critical scholarship is gone out. The Church's traditions of liberty have been forgotten. The papacy has begun. Above the appeal to Rome, carefully limited to cases of deposition from the episcopate, towers up the new claim of the Roman See to interfere in any matter whatsoever merely upon the universal pope's own motion.

There remains but one thing to say, which is

this: In all these eight hundred years which we have been reviewing, neither the summons to Rome nor even the most guarded appeal to Rome has been found to receive the sanction of the Catholic Church.





**Rome, Constantinople, and the Rise  
of the Papal Supremacy.**



### LECTURE III.

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#### *ROME, CONSTANTINOPLE, AND THE RISE OF THE PAPAL SUPREMACY.*

##### INTRODUCTION.

IN the fourth century of our era the division of the enormous Roman empire into its eastern and western halves was accomplished, and in the fifth the line of western emperors became extinct. The empire was suffering from grave economic ills. The lesser landed proprietors, weighed down by the burden of excessive taxation, found it difficult to maintain their independence: their holdings were swallowed up in the vast estates of great landowners, and they themselves, receiving perhaps an annuity in exchange, went to spend it in a neighboring city, or, if they chose to remain upon the land, were at last reduced to the rank of adscripts to the soil and tilled as serfs their ancestral fields. Population steadily declined; this fact, coupled with the destruction of the rural

middle class—the sinews of a state—makes it easy to understand how small bodies of barbarian invaders could take possession of vast districts within the empire: the oppressed people actually welcomed them,—barbarians were more merciful than imperial tax-collectors. The boundless domains of the landed aristocracy were cultivated by troops of slaves.

The incomes thus provided were consumed in the pleasures and extravagance of city life. The drift of population toward the cities was a prominent feature of the times, and went on, as such movements will go on, despite the resistance of a government that sought to keep things as they were. Thus the huge centres of population were maintained at an ever-increasing disproportion to the exhausted rural districts. Beside the greatest of them all, imperial Rome, there rose, dotting the margin of the Mediterranean sea, the great provincial capitals and ports, Milan, Marseilles, Tarragona, Carthage and Syracuse in the West, Corinth, Ephesus, Antioch and Alexandria in the East—the last second only to Rome in wealth and numbers. These were all alike in that they swarmed with men of every nation and language; their outward aspect, too, was similar: they were crossed by magnificent avenues, bordered with gleaming colonnades in endless perspective, and were provided with spacious amphitheatres and

numerous baths supplied with water by aqueducts that strode on giant arches over the neighboring plains. The splendid palaces of the wealthy glittered upon commanding sites—but the dark background of all this glory was the noisome labyrinth where the poor were huddled together in unimaginable squalor. Immense possessions and utmost destitution, magnificence and misery, delicacy amounting to effeminacy, filth and disease,—such were the contrasts life presented in the long decline of ancient Rome. Moral disorders were no less marked than economic: it is impossible to describe the effrontery of immorality in high places in that day; luxury, gilded vice and gross debauchery were doing their deadly work in diminishing the human species in all those great aggregates of population, which must have rapidly declined had they not been reinforced by accessions from without. The government of the cities was oligarchic in its character; it was conducted by a self-perpetuating council, whose onerous duty it was to see that the imperial assessment upon the community was paid in full. As the members of the council were personally responsible for any deficiency, desperate but generally futile efforts were made to avoid the fatal honor of serving upon it: the authorities were gently inexorable,—and the wealthier the victim the better. In this way men of moderate means were ruined, and even the

wealthy were impoverished. The culture of the age was degenerate: poetry and oratory declined into declamation,—into fulsome panegyric, presenting its palm for reward,—into mere and often indecent literary trifling and patchwork quotation. Taste was extinct: sculpture inferior to that of the age of Constantine it would be difficult to find. There was utter dearth of creative ability; the source of genius had run dry; men lived and moved among memorials of a noble past which they were incapable of emulating, of appreciating even; the best they could do was to rearrange the artistic material that they inherited in new but not original combinations. The industrial life of the towns was controlled by colleges, or guilds; the processes of manufacture were, like agriculture, relegated to slaves; in many branches enterprise languished through inability to compete with large concerns (run in the interest of the imperial government) that enjoyed, through free transportation of their products, a practical monopoly. After an interval of centuries, commerce was steadily returning to the control of Greeks. In the cities men congregated and whiled away their mornings at the baths, their afternoons at the theatre or circus,—so passed their empty days. The idle and insolent populace of Rome—the paupers of the empire—was entertained in a two-fold sense at the public charge. The monotony of this existence was en-

livened ever and anon by an episcopal election, which in those controversial times excited to fever heat the sympathies and antipathies of the rabble. In the great eastern capitals the profoundest mysteries of theology were profaned by being made the street and party cries of raging mobs. Meanwhile, along the northern frontier and on the eastern verge of the empire dense clouds of Goths and Persians were hovering like birds of prey.

To be within reaching distance of the threatening Persian was doubtless the principal motive that led Constantine to create a new capital on the strait that parts Europe and Asia. Several years before, the Emperor Diocletian had established himself in Bithynia, that he might be near the seat of war in the east: for strategic and administrative reasons, moreover, he had halved and quartered the empire—and his partner in the supreme authority had fixed his residence at Milan, whence he could guard more effectively than at Rome against the attacks of the northern barbarians. But the forces of centralization were still potent enough to reunite the Empire, and the closing scenes of the struggle that gave to Constantine the undisputed lordship of the Roman world occurred in the neighborhood of Byzantium. While conducting the siege of that city in the year 323, he was deeply impressed by the unrivalled advantages of its situation. Perhaps he



had already conceived the ambition further to immortalize his name by adding to the number of the great cities of the world; it appears that throughout this whole period the emperors felt a deep-seated, almost instinctive aversion to Rome; in the case of the first imperial convert to Christianity that aversion found its sufficient ground in the tenacity with which the Roman patricians clung to their ancient religion: Constantine would found a capital that should be Christian from the outset—where the atmosphere should be congenial to his newly adopted faith. The superb situation of Byzantium determined his choice of a site: behold, then, that small but ancient city—it had already a history extending over a thousand years—transformed as fast as the resources of the empire would permit into a second Rome. In the centre of a spacious forum a towering column was reared, to sustain a colossal statue of the emperor in the character of the god of day. Beyond the forum rose the walls of a hippodrome; the multitudinous sounds of building filled the air; and baths, aqueducts, theatres, churches, colonnades and palaces rose like an exhalation between the Propontis and the Golden Horn. The cities of Greece and Asia were ransacked to people the fresh halls with statues, and the new Rome was soon resplendent with the inimitable treasures of an elder art. Living forms

were lacking—but the mere presence of the emperor ere long caused the want to be supplied. Large estates in Asia were offered, moreover, as an inducement to any who would maintain establishments in the city, while, to feed a populace, the corn supply of the Nile valley was diverted thither from old Rome. The foundation of Constantinople and the Council of Nicæa were the most remarkable events of Constantine's undivided reign. At his death, in the year 337, the empire was portioned out among his three sons, but shortly a fratricidal war broke out in which one of them fell; another was assassinated by a usurper's agent; and by the defeat and death of that usurper, in the year 353, the Roman world came into the sole possession of the surviving son, Constantius. He was succeeded by his young cousin, Julian—the promoter of a somewhat artificial heathen reaction. Julian was slain in battle with the Persians, and in 364 the empire was divided for the third time. The able general Valentinian was invested with the purple, and assumed the sovereignty of the west, together with Illyria, Macedonia and Greece—resigning the east to his brother Valens. In 378, Valens fell in battle with the Goths; the brave soldier Theodosius was associated in the government, and became practically absolute; after the death of his young ward, Valentinian II., and the suppression of a re-

bellion, Theodosius reigned without a colleague or rival for the space of four months. Upon his death, in 395, the empire was parted for the fourth and final time, and there appeared in the east a shadowy simulacrum of the monarchy of Alexander the Great. The extraordinary vitality of Grecian civilization manifested itself anew, and differences of language, culture, and temperament reasserted themselves as between the eastern and western basins of the Mediterranean Sea.

# I.

With the sudden and marvellous transformation of his city, the bishop of Byzantium, a mere suffragan of Heraclea, the metropolitan see of Thrace, found himself the bishop of the capital of the Roman World. It was a dizzy and dangerous elevation, exposed to all the lightnings that played about the throne. The emperors of Rome were fast beginning to assume the character of Oriental despots,—the magnificent masters of a universe of slaves. Great part of the taxation under which the world groaned was designed to support a court of unapproachable splendor and luxury, the central luminary of which should be the person of the sovereign, shrouded in a kind of cloudy glory, in majesty inaccessible. Such was the ideal of Constantine, such the “divinity” of the emperor, against the fascination of which the



most Christian prelates were not proof. Truly that statue in the forum had a symbolic value. And so the bishopric of Byzantium emerged from its obscurity—happy in that it had no history—into a noonday glare, and became a prize to be contended for, and eventually the supreme historic example of a state church in all its vicissitudes and tribulations, its strength and weakness, its grandeur and degradation.

Upon the death of Constantine the Arian controversy broke out with increased fury. That we may do justice to that age, and not simply turn with disgust and weariness of spirit from its shameful record of party violence and vindictiveness, we should remember that the rage of controversy was seriously aggravated when the emperor became a party to it,—that the temporal rewards and penalties that he held out for compliance, or opposition to his will, powerfully excited the hopes and fears of the combatants. In extenuation of the conduct of the rulers, moreover, it should be remembered that the idea of religious toleration had only a precarious footing in that age: it was exercised in the interest of heathenism, and only so long as that decaying faith had still vitality enough to command it,—and it was further discredited as the policy of the crafty heathen Julian, designed to embarrass and if possible to destroy the Christian church. The notion that, for stability of

government, unity of worship should correspond to the ideal unity of the empire, and that the sovereign had a right to impose his religion upon his subjects, was deeply rooted in the minds of rulers. And the church had but recently emerged from a tempest of savage persecution that taught her a lesson of intolerance. Most of all we should remember that the age was one of INTENSE RELIGIOUS PASSION. The ardent feelings that under a representative government would find an outlet in political discussion and action, denied these, were directed with redoubled energy along the channels of ecclesiastical politics and theological controversy. The intellectual acumen that in an age of authorship would have been exercised in literary criticism was directed to the analysis of a copious Christian literature. The church was democratic, and opened an avenue for the exercise of native talent. But beneath these and any other secondary causes that might be alleged we must recognize the rise of a spring-tide of religious emotion the very excesses of which are at least in refreshing contrast to the senility of pagan culture. And such characters as those of the Christian heroes Athanasius and Ambrose would reflect imperishable lustre upon any age.

In the year 340 Athanasius visited Rome, having been driven from his see by an Arian reaction,

and was cordially received by the bishop, Julius. At the same time Paulus, orthodox bishop of Constantinople, also arrived there, seeking counsel and support. It is pleasant to dwell upon the sympathetic intercourse these three defenders of the faith then enjoyed—the bishops of both Romes and the pope of Alexandria—in view of the long and fierce feuds that raged between their successors in after times. Julius sent Paulus back to the capital with letters demanding his restitution, but he was unable to maintain himself in opposition to an Arian court, was again expelled, and died in exile. Then for a full generation the see of Constantinople was occupied by a succession of Arian prelates whose heterodoxy was of an extreme type. The great sees of Alexandria and Antioch suffered similar but even more violent disorders: the heretical bishops who intruded into the former during the lifetime of Athanasius cruelly persecuted his adherents; while in the latter an Arian synod occasioned a schism that lasted more than fifty years. Even the indefectible faith of the Roman bishops suffered a temporary lapse in the person of Julius' successor, Liberius. He was strictly orthodox by conviction, but experienced the malign influence of the civil power. Banished by order of the Emperor Constantius to the inhospitable region of the river Save, he was badgered at last into subscribing an



Arian symbol and communicating with those who had devised it. Then he was allowed to return to Rome, where he was received with popular rejoicing. It is a notable fact that in all these cases the people were enthusiastically on the side of the persecuted orthodox prelates, recognizing them as leaders of the only effective opposition to imperial despotism. Upon the election of a successor to Liberius—who died in the catholic faith in the year 366—the whole city was convulsed: a war of factions broke out, many lives were lost,—the pavement of a church was defiled with blood. The party of the Spaniard Damasus was victorious in the strife, and he was installed as rightful bishop; his rival was banished by the Emperor Valentinian, and Damasus succeeded in stamping out the last embers of the conflagration with the aid of the civil authority.

From the recent partition of the empire and from the Arian troubles Damasus derived the claim which he put forth to jurisdiction over the churches of Illyria and Macedonia. Those provinces had been assigned to the western half of the empire, and the claim based on the political boundary was strengthened by the fact that the eastern emperor Valens and his bishops were vehement Arians. Damasus is said to have appointed the bishop of Thessalonica as his vicar in those regions

In writings of the time we discover clear indications of the increasing wealth and importance of the Roman see. Enriched by the munificence of pious women, the bishop was enabled already to assume the state of a temporal lord. In Jerome's letters there are palpable hits at the clerical dandies of the day.

After a youth of unrestrained self-indulgence, in which he became perfectly acquainted with all the vices of that corrupt society—he had sinned in every sense, as he himself confesses,—Jerome swung as vehemently to the opposite extreme, and became an apostle of the ascetic life, the “angelic philosophy,” as it was fondly called. Invited to Rome, Damasus made him his secretary; at the bishop's request he began his great translation of the Scriptures into Latin, and finished while there his version of the four Gospels. It is easy to understand how, after a period of subjection to sensual pleasures such as both Jerome and Augustine experienced, there should come about a strenuous recoil toward a life of self-mortification: it is not so easy to account for the fascination that the monastic ideal exerted over the imaginations of men like Athanasius, Ambrose, Basil and Chrysostom,—men whose youth had been pure, their home life sweet and ennobling. But the pleasures of the senses had become the be-all and the end-all, the guide of life, of decaying heathenism,



and so it is little wonder that to the sensitive Christian conscience, revolting from the widespread pollution, any indulgence appeared like abuse, and total disuse seemed the only alternative. Again, the conception of a right use of property had not dawned upon the world: wealth was profaned to selfish and sinful ends: complete surrender of it, therefore, seemed the only course to the enthusiastic piety of the time. Certain it is that the choicer spirits were captivated by the thought of an austere life of celibacy, poverty, and retirement from the world. To them the church itself seemed secularized by its alliance with the civil power. These ideas were yet novel and unwelcome to the Romans when Jerome began his ardent propaganda, and in spite of ridicule and obloquy made himself heard. His patron Damasus sympathized with him, and indeed himself burst into verse "in praise of virginity."

In the year 381 a council of only a hundred and fifty bishops met at Constantinople, at the bidding of the orthodox emperor Theodosius, to draw up a definitive condemnation of Arian heresy. Although Damasus was not invited to attend, and the western church was not represented at the council, it yet came in time to be recognized as the second ecumenical assembly of Christendom. The third canon passed by it has an especial bearing upon our subject: it ordained that thenceforth

the bishop of Constantinople should rank next after the bishop of Rome, for the sole and simple reason that his seat was the imperial capital, or as the fathers expressed it, because Constantinople was New Rome. Thus at last was the bishop of old Byzantium emancipated from the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Heraclea and raised over his head to patriarchal dignity, and over the heads of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch to the second post of honor in the Christian world. The canon was not occasioned by jealousy of Rome, but was directed against the encroachments of the Alexandrian bishop, who had given evidence of late of an aggressive spirit, and an intention to arrogate to himself such a primacy over the eastern church, as his Roman compeer enjoyed over the western. The sudden aggrandizement of the bishops of Constantinople stirred up the demon of jealousy in the breasts of their Alexandrian brothers, and started a little rift in their relations with the bishops of Rome, who disliked the change as a disturbance of the established order, and a possible menace to their ascendancy.

Damasus died in the year 384. His successor, Siricius, in the first year of his episcopate, replied to some questions of the bishop of Tarragona in a letter (the first of its kind now extant) in which he laid down, quite dogmatically, the law of the celibacy of the clergy. Priests and deacons were

not only not allowed to marry, but those even who had wives wedded before ordination were to live as though they had none. Thus the bishop of Rome assumed to be wiser than the great council of Nice, which had considered and had refrained from laying this restriction upon the clergy. In his letter Siricius referred, significantly, to his succession from the "blessed Apostle Peter."

## II.

Upon the threshold of a new period, we are met by two commanding personalities, St. John Chrysostom, greatest of Christian preachers, and St. Augustine, chief doctor of the western church. The early life of Chrysostom was sweet and wholesome. The latent capacities of his soul were unfolded under the gentle influence of a devout and noble mother. His religious experience was equable, his spiritual growth normal; he affords a shining example of the symmetrical development of a beautiful soul through Christian nurture. His whole view of the relation of God to man was colored by his experience: he abated naught of man's need of divine grace, while he maintained that the operation of God's spirit was never such as to impair the freedom of our will. In the work of redemption grace and free will must co-operate. Sin seemed to him simply a weakness of the flesh, a darkening of the mind, and he held out

a pleasing prospect of the possibility of turning that weakness into strength, that ignorance into wisdom, with God's help, and of leading a perfect life even under this sky. Augustine, on the contrary, had sounded the depths of sin and Satan. His evil life had cost his pious mother many tears. His strenuous indulgence in the exhausting dissipations of Carthage, where vice was as fully blown as anywhere in that old empire—in his own expressive language, the city seethed with immoralities—left its lingering stain upon his soul. For nine years he adhered to a false religious philosophy whose fundamental tenet—the essential evil of matter—lent itself readily to a justification of his mode of life. The process of his conversion was agonizing; it was completed by a verse in St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, which flashed a sudden light upon his inward eye as he read. He emerged from the darkness of sin and error into the light of Christ's religion, penetrated with a deep sense of man's natural depravity and utter inability to save himself—nay more, with a conviction of the instinctive rebellion of the human will against the righteous will of God. Salvation therefore seemed to him an act of sovereign grace, wrought by God alone, that restored the divine image in the tarnished mirror of the soul. But as long as man is in the flesh—and here appears the clinging taint of Au-



gustine's early views—he can never lead a life wholly pleasing to God.

The fifth century was ushered in with his *Confessions*—composed probably in the year 400,—a unique contribution to the world's literature, marking an epoch in its history. In that wonderful work we behold the inversion of the Christian consciousness upon itself,—it is a monument of that introspective habit that distinguishes modern from ancient times. Searching self-scrutiny, subtle analysis of motive, frank disburdening of a conscience groaning under a profound sense of guilt, ecstasy of escape from misery, thrilling, overpowering consciousness of the love of God, all appear in this impassioned monologue of the individual soul with its Maker. As soon as it was finished he began his treatise on the Trinity, in the course of which, following a suggestion of his teacher, Ambrose, he worked out his doctrine of a two-fold procession of the Holy Spirit,—a procession from the Son as well as from the Father. This doctrine was not accepted by the eastern church: his teaching on original sin and predestination was also alien to its thought,—was indeed ignored by Greek theologians,—and thus grave religious differences were preparing side by side with the division of the empire along the lines of temperament and language. It is a remarkable fact that Augustine could not read Greek,—he

mentions in his Confessions the torment that his lessons in the rudiments of that language were to him. On the other hand, Basil of Cæsarea was wholly ignorant of Latin, and conceived that there was nothing written in it that should make it worth while to learn it. So, through mutual misunderstanding, the two halves of Christendom slowly drifted apart.

Toward the close of his life Augustine composed his greatest work, occasioned by the fall of Rome before the Goths, "*The City of God*,"—in which he pictures the rise, the history, and the end of the two cities, the earthly community, carnal, impious, and destined to perdition, and the spiritual city of God's saints, the New Jerusalem. This ideal society easily became confounded with a centralized catholic church. His doctrine of grace dispensed in the sacraments tended greatly to enhance the power of the priesthood. Hence indirectly Augustine contributed largely to the upbuilding of the papal monarchy, though in direct terms hardly at all,—his references to the authority of the Roman see are few, casual, and ambiguous, and in one remarkable instance his attitude toward the Roman bishop was independent even to menace.

The first truly great bishop of Rome, Innocent I., was a contemporary of these great doctors of eastern and western Christendom. His episco-

pate was of moderate length, covering the years 402-417. He was a man of rare purity and strength of character. Beside the natural ascendancy of moral energy like his, we notice, at the outset of the new period ushered in by him, three points of vantage in his official position, the first of them being the continued absence of the emperor. The feeble and frivolous Honorius—an unworthy son of the great Theodosius—held his state at Ravenna, and the western patriarchate was thus left remarkably independent, free to determine its own course without danger of deflection through the proximity and bewildering attraction of an imperial court. The see of Rome was first independent, then for ages in opposition to, and at last, in the era of its greatest grandeur, superior to the civil power: thus in time it became the supreme historical example of a sovereign church. The second of the points referred to was that prestige of orthodoxy,—an inheritance from the last period—that invested the Roman chair like a mantle. The record of Julius, Liberius, and Damasus was certainly fair—conspicuously so, when compared with that of any contemporary succession of prelates in the other great sees of Christendom. The last point was that sentiment of reverence for the successor of St. Peter—as the Roman bishop was fully believed to be—which Innocent I. did much to strengthen and elicit. He



laid it down that "the blessed Peter and his successors founded all the churches of the West"—and a growing acceptance of that doctrine brought it about that the see of Rome, from being the only patriarchal see in the western half of the empire, was insensibly enlarged and converted into a patriarchate over all the west. It will be observed that this fresh assertion of apostolical succession ensued upon the ecumenical council of Constantinople, and was designed to transcend the merely political and mundane claims of the new patriarchate.

In replying to a query of a Gallic bishop, Innocent put forth a wide claim to appellate jurisdiction, and strongly asserted the principle—now fast becoming a Roman tradition—of clerical celibacy. Of his own motion he addressed certain Spanish bishops upon the same subject.

The middle year of his episcopate was marked by a startling event—the sack of Rome by Alaric: but the awful siege and famine, the fall and plundering of the city, as they inflicted a final deadly blow upon the crumbling fabric of heathenism, redounded to the advantage of the church: the partially converted Goths spared the Christian churches, while they pillaged the temples of the old religion, which thereafter went to ruin; the proud old patrician families, inveterate worshippers of the heathen gods, were likewise broken down.



In the course of the Pelagian controversy, the African bishops besought Innocent to incline to their side. He made them a favorable reply, in which he highly exalted the authority of his see. The metropolitan of Thessalonica continued to be his vicar in Illyria. The history of that vicariate affords an early and notable illustration of Roman policy—of the tenacity with which the popes have clung to any ecclesiastical gains. It has ever been a characteristic of theirs to put forth claims, to support them by any arguments, even the most specious, to follow them up, to exercise authority under them in season, and out of season never to forget or relinquish them. Jurisdiction over the Illyrian church had been claimed in the time of Damasus under the partition of the empire of the year 364, by which Illyria was annexed to the western division: it had since been reunited to the eastern,—but now, in the time of Innocent, it was affirmed that changes of political boundary should have no effect on ecclesiastical boundaries.

It is pleasant to record the fact that Innocent stood forth prominently as a champion of the cause and memory of Chrysostom, though it was at the cost of a breach with eastern Christendom. The great preacher, become bishop of Constantinople, had greatly extended the jurisdiction of his see, so that, beside Thrace, it covered the provinces of

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Asia and Pontus. The rapid growth of the new patriarchate excited the jealousy of Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, who found his opportunity in the wrath of the Empress Eudoxia, whose pride Chrysostom had rebuked from the pulpit. In evil accord with the worthless Porphyrius, patriarch of Antioch, Theophilus dared to convene a synod, accuse Chrysostom of heresy, and depose him from his bishopric. The sentence was executed by the imperial authority that inspired it, and the saintly bishop, great doctor, and greatest orator of the Christian church, was banished to remote and forbidding regions in Asia Minor, and finally to Pontus, where he died. Atticus, a mean agent of the imperial and episcopal conspirators, was intruded into his see. Innocent broke off communion with the confederates in iniquity, stirred up the Emperor Honorius to write to his brother and partner in empire in the east on Chrysostom's behalf, and urged the summoning of a general council to settle the question. Years after the death of their noble victim, the patriarchs of Antioch and Constantinople, and last of all, and quite ungraciously, Cyril, Theophilus' nephew and successor, restored Chrysostom's name to their tables of orthodox bishops, and were reconciled and received into communion again by Innocent.

In suggestive coincidence with the beginning of

the schism we note the completion of Jerome's stupendous task—the translation of the Scriptures into Latin from their Hebrew and Greek originals. More than twenty of the best years of his life had been occupied in that great work, which he alone in Christendom was competent to accomplish. His version,—the Vulgate—erelong superseded all other texts, furnishing the Latin church with its Bible and its sacred dialect, making it far more independent than before of the Greek church, theologically.

Innocent's successor, Zosimus, experienced in his brief episcopate of a year two sad rebuffs. He was a Greek by extraction, and being favorably inclined to Pelagius' theory of morals took up his cause somewhat intemperately and wrote in authoritative style to the African bishops. But when these perceived that the voice of Rome was against them, they too changed their tone; we hear no more from them of an appeal to the see of the Apostles, or of submission to its decision; on the contrary, the firm front they opposed to him, under the generalship of Augustine, daunted Zosimus, and when they gained the ear of Honorius he was seriously alarmed and made unconditional surrender of his policy. He failed as conspicuously in a high-handed interference in the affairs of the church of Gaul. He attempted to humble the venerable Proculus, bishop of Mar-

seilles, and went to the length of deposing him,—but here he utterly miscalculated his power: Proculus was entrenched in the love and reverence of his people, and ignored the sentence,—and Zosimus' successor, Boniface I., quietly dropped the case. It was a moment of embarrassment for the Roman see; Boniface's principal success was purely defensive: he managed to maintain his hold upon the Illyrian province, which the ambitious Atticus was seeking to attach to the see of Constantinople. Boniface interested Honorius in the case, and neutralized all Atticus' endeavors. And so we come to the Nestorian controversy.

It was a mortal struggle, that dispute over the relation of the divine and human in the person of Christ,—literally such indeed, for it culminated in a shocking tragedy—the murder of a patriarch of Constantinople. Alexandrian jealousy of Constantinople imported an element of ferocity into the controversy. Cyril paid indefatigable court to Cœlestine I. of Rome, and in concert they excommunicated and deposed Nestorius at the council of Ephesus, in the year 431. John, patriarch of Antioch, sympathized with Nestorius, but arrived at Ephesus too late to be of service to his cause; he was forestalled by the intriguing Juvenal of Jerusalem, who embraced the side of Cyril with factious zeal, making use of the struggle in order to free his bishopric from dependence

on Antioch, and erect it into a separate patriarchate, with Alexandrian aid. A melancholy result of the action of the council was that the churches of the far east went into lasting schism; Nestorianism was congenial to the people of Mesopotamia, where from most ancient times the divine was kept scrupulously separate in thought from the human. Thus the secret affinity of the new heresy with Judaism and the religious principle of the Semitic race was geographically revealed. Rome gained immeasurably in prestige in the course of this controversy; she stood aloft in moral dignity and the tranquillity of conscious strength, appearing as arbiter and mistress, while the east was pitifully demoralized, disgraced by shocking scenes of party violence and weakened by a colossal schism. The noble church of Santa Maria Maggiore upon the Esquiline Hill, with its perspective of Ionic columns and precious mosaics, was dedicated shortly after the council had been held, as a memorial and in thanksgiving for its achievements. And so we come to the episcopate of Leo I.,—one of the very greatest of the bishops of Rome.

The character and career of Innocent I. may be regarded as a prefatory sketch, to be enlarged in the grand style by Leo in a later generation. His episcopate was of more than average length, extending over the years 440–461. He was the first

famous preacher and theologian to occupy the Roman chair. As an administrator he was equally great. He first laid down with emphasis a dogmatic ground for the Roman primacy, interpreting the "rock" in the familiar passage from St. Matthew's Gospel—"upon this rock I will build my church"—as the Apostle Peter, instead of Christ himself, or Peter's confession of faith in him, which was the current interpretation up to that time. He followed up this novel exegesis with a forcible assertion of the Petrine succession of the bishops of Rome, by virtue of which they exercised universal dominion over the church of Christ. That is, Leo's logic ran somewhat as follows:—The Rock signifies St. Peter; the Roman bishops are his successors; therefore they inherit his character, enjoy his privileges, exercise his powers, which amount to nothing less than spiritual empire,—they too are rocks.

Two facts with which we are already acquainted—the tergiversations of Liberius and Zosimus—are enough to refute this extraordinary logic—a lot of disconnected links, forming no chain. Yet by dint of constant repetition through illiterate ages these bold assumptions won the force of facts. And so Leo plainly laid the corner-stone upon which the vast fabric of papal monarchy was reared at a later time. But when we ask if he himself were truly a pope, the first of popes proper, as he

is commonly reputed to be, we are forced to answer no. For to the definition of a pope, in the full mediæval sense of that term, pertains this two-fold claim in both spiritual and secular spheres, to an ecclesiastical authority superior to that of an ecumenical council, and to dominion over the civil power, interpreted as a right to depose and set up kings. Applying this test, we find that Leo's office falls far short of these requirements; in truth it could not do otherwise, for his lot was cast in the midst of the great conciliar epoch of church history and government, while the elder empire yet stood, endowed with almost superhuman majesty, exacting an almost religious reverence from men. His own language in an epistle addressed to the Empress Pulcheria exemplifies this sentiment, and disposes effectually of the theory that he was a genuine pope. With undoubtedly papal characteristics,—ambition, aggressiveness, a habit of magnifying his office and asserting the plenitude of spiritual authority it conferred, while speaking with a certain conscious modesty of his personal insignificance—there was yet about the character of Leo something Roman, antique,—it contained not a trace of mediævalism. He resembled a Roman of old time in his respect for law; he had the genius of order and government; his was a character of unquestioned moral elevation and grandeur of conception; in truth,



the supremacy that he exercised in Christendom was moral in its essence,—he was a consummate type of a patriarch, or perhaps, to put it more precisely, of a primate of Christendom in that great conciliar age.

Leo's view of the Eucharist was that in the reception of the elements men receive Christ, mystically but really, and undergo a change in their total personality, in both soul and body, through the assimilation of his body and blood. We find as yet no suggestion of transubstantiation, no evidence of its symbolic correspondent, the use of unleavened bread, both of which appear collateral with developed papacy.

We observe a point highly characteristic of the energetic and consistent disciplinarian,—that Leo put the finishing touch to the Roman legislation concerning clerical celibacy by extending its provisions even to the order of sub-deacons.

The disorders of the times enabled Leo to make good his pretensions to ecclesiastical sovereignty over the western provinces of the empire. Vandal, Visigothic, and Burgundian hordes, Arians all (they had been evangelized in the previous century, when Arianism was in the ascendant), swept over Gaul; the Vandals overspread Spain, and finally penetrated into Africa, where they founded a kingdom, with its capital at Carthage, that stood for a hundred years; the Visigoths



and kindred tribes, following in their wake, settled in Spain; and the Burgundians occupied the Rhone valley. The catholic churches of Africa, depressed and often savagely persecuted by the intolerant Arian Vandals, were in no condition to assert their liberties as of old, and submitted humbly to Leo's dictation. The Spanish church, oppressed from without and distracted by heresy within, was equally obsequious, and adopted his decisions as its own. In Gaul alone did he encounter resistance, and that of the most resolute kind. Hilary, archbishop of Arles, a famous preacher (perhaps more eloquent than Leo), a rigid disciplinarian and a devout and exemplary prelate, had apparently exceeded his jurisdiction in deposing the bishop of Besançon for canonical irregularities. The bishop appealed to Rome, and was reinstated. Hilary protested against Leo's interference, and his protest was rendered formidable by the affection entertained for him by the people of his province. Leo deprived him of metropolitan rights, but in order to give effect to the deprivation had to call in the aid of the civil authority. He obtained a decree from the emperor, Valentinian III., which ordained that nothing should be done in the church of Gaul without the sanction of the Apostolic See, and which directed the civil magistrate there to enforce the Roman bishop's sentence, in case of

contumacy. Thus did imperial power lend itself to the execution of Leo's designs, and thus did Hilary stand forth as the first great vindicator of Gallican liberties.

The Eutychian controversy was now impending. The pendulum of Christologic thought had oscillated over a wide arc from Nestorianism to the opposite extreme—a confusion of the divine and human in the person of Christ. The monk Eutyches has been pilloried in ecclesiastical history as the heresiarch who merged and lost the human nature in the divine. His view triumphed at that flagitious assembly known as the Latrocinial or Robber synod of Ephesus of the year 449, where the traditional animosity of Alexandria toward New Rome broke forth with deadly fury, and fully manifested its murderous tendency in doing to death the blameless Flavian, patriarch of the latter see. The Christian world was outraged by these hideous scenes, and the Roman church now ranged itself on the side of the Constantinopolitan. Both conviction and policy would urge Leo to this course : he sincerely believed that Flavian had been a martyr for orthodoxy ; Constantinople had been sufficiently humiliated by the judgment against Nestorius and the sequel of the Robber council, and it was high time to repress the ebullient arrogance of Alexandria. In the year 451, the celebrated council of Chalcedon was

convened, under the patronage of the most orthodox Empress Pulcheria, to settle the points in dispute. It was one of the largest of the congresses of the church; it was attended by six hundred and thirty-six bishops. Leo's letter, transmitted by his delegates, concerning the union of the two natures in the person of Christ, was heard by the vast assembly with acclamations: it exhibited such complete mastery of the points involved, and was at once so clear and so precise, that it was adopted forthwith by the majority as expressing their belief in the best form. The crafty and ambitious Juvenal of Jerusalem, perceiving where his advantage lay, abandoned the Alexandrian party, and was rewarded by having his see erected into a patriarchate, with Palestine for its territory. The memory of Flavian was vindicated, and his persecutor, the truculent Dioscorus of Alexandria, was deposed. The ascendancy of Rome seemed almost absolute—but the fathers at Chalcedon infused a bitter drop into Leo's brimming cup by their twenty-eighth canon, which rehearsed and confirmed the third canon of the Constantinopolitan council of seventy years before, ranking the see of New Rome next to that of the elder capital, and giving precedence to both for the simple reason that they belonged to imperial cities. The Petrine claim of Rome was pointedly ignored. Such was the

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reply of the Greeks to the papal exegesis of the eighteenth verse of the sixteenth chapter of the Gospel according to St. Matthew. Leo heard of it with indignation, repudiated the offensive canon in the name of all the West, and emphasized the neglected apostolical succession, exhorting Proterius of Alexandria, as the "successor of St. Mark," to aid in repressing the inordinate ambition of Constantinople.

When the decrees of Chalcedon became known in Egypt, they gave occasion to a colossal schism of graver consequences than the Nestorian. The Eutychian churches there fell away into the schism called Monophysite, from its insisting upon a single nature in Christ. In that land of mystery, where for countless æons nature was held to be a hollow symbol of deity, where the animal even was exalted to divine honors, Monophysitism found a congenial home, and thus confessed, geographically, its kinship with heathenism. This division is the key to the imperial ecclesiastical policy of ensuing centuries: it was necessary to conciliate the Copts in order that there might be no possible interruption in the supply of Egyptian grain needed for the consumption of the capital: the corn-ships of Alexandria determined the course of church history in the Orient.

While these great events were occurring in

the theological world, Europe was overrun and Rome menaced by a horde of savage Huns, incorrigible enemies of all civilization. Defeated in a tremendous fight about Châlons, in their recoil they descended upon Italy, and approached Rome. All was confusion and despair, when there occurred one of the most impressive scenes in history, which might be symbolically interpreted of the supremacy of intelligent will over tumultuous passions. Leo went forth and in his pontificals, attended by only two companions, entered the Hunnish camp ; and whether moved by superstitious awe, or aware of the difficulty of besieging a city like Rome with his rude barbarians, or from these and other motives combined, the terrible chieftain Attila made peace and retired from Italy. So, in the decay of empire, the spiritual power emerged as the shield and savior of the capital of the world.

Leo had now attained the culmination of his career. Never had his figure appeared more majestic, his position so commanding. He was not as successful when three years later he sought to prevail in like manner over the Vandal chieftain Genseric—who avenged, at that distant day, the ancient wrongs of Carthage. Leo's intercession availed to stay Genseric from a general massacre, but could not prevent a second and more desolating sack of Rome.

From that event may be dated a long period of depression for the Roman chair. The city was impoverished—even the churches had been pillaged—and the western branch of the empire was in the last stages of dissolution. Leo's successors were able men and continued his policy, but their lot was fallen upon evil days. The bishop Simplicius beheld the last phantom emperors of the west flit in swift succession over the stage, saw them

“Come like shadows, so depart”—

and witnessed the retirement into private life of the last of them all, in the year 476. Constantinople was now the sole seat of empire, and the primacy was lost to the see of Rome if it were grounded only upon a political claim. It happened at the same time that Acacius, one of the ablest and most aggressive of the line, strong in the favor of the eastern emperor, was upon the patriarchal throne of New Rome. Simplicius was forced to assume the defensive, and could only remonstrate when Acacius ventured to consecrate a patriarch for Antioch, acting as if he were a universal bishop.

A vehement Monophysite reaction had set in throughout the east and Timothy Aelurus, Peter Mongus and Peter the Fuller—arrant Monophysites all—were tyrannizing over the sees of Alex-

andria and Antioch. In accordance with the state policy before mentioned, the Emperor Zeno endeavored to effect a pacification, and with the collaboration of Acacius prepared his famous plan of union—the Henoticon of the year 482,—in which he sought to put an end to the controversy by condemning both Nestorianism and Eutychianism, and, to placate the Monophysites, seemed to disparage the council of Chalcedon. Peter Mongus and Peter the Fuller accepted the overture, were received into communion by Acacius, and a specious peace was established, which was soon broken by the bishop of Rome. Simplicius had watched these proceedings with ever increasing indignation; he died the following year, and was succeeded by Felix III., who heartily shared his views; it was not to be endured that such reflections should be cast upon the great theological triumph of Rome, the definition of Leo. In 484, Felix solemnly excommunicated Acacius for communing with heretics; the excommunication was retorted; and the churches east and west went into a grievous schism that lasted for more than a generation, and heralded their definitive separation.

• Outwardly apparent differences even now began to distinguish the Latin from the Greek clergy. It may be that a desire to distinguish themselves from the heathen philosophers, the Jewish Rabbis, and the Arian priests of the barbarian nations, all

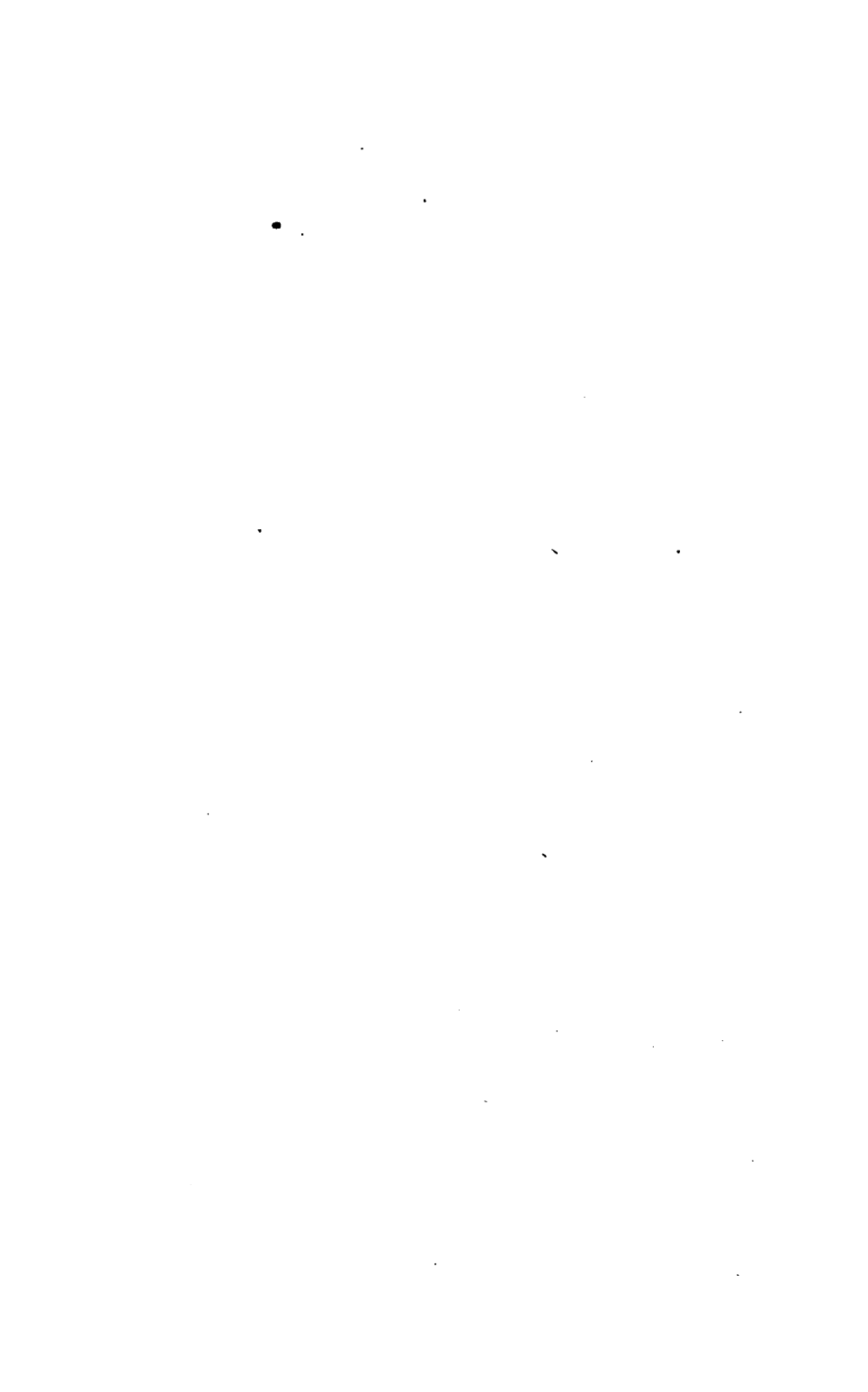
of whom wore beards, led the Latins to adopt the practice of shaving the face,—but a plainer reason lay in the repudiation of sex by a clergy bound to celibacy, of which the smooth face was the outward and visible sign. And so henceforth the bearded Greeks and the smooth shaven Latins regarded each other with mutual abhorrence.

Here we may end. We have traced the rise of the Roman supremacy, and the relations of the two great sees of Christendom to the time of their first serious severance. It would be interesting, if time permitted, to sketch the career of Gelasius I.,—the typical Roman bishop of the era of the schism,—of Hormisdas, during whose episcopate harmony was restored,—and then to tell of the remarkable reassertion of imperial authority under Justinian, and the consequent extreme depression of the Roman bishopric in the persons of the hapless Vigilius and Pelagius I. and II. Even Gregory I. the Great shared in this depression, and was scandalized by the assumption of the title “Œcumenical Bishop” by the patriarch of Constantinople, with the concurrence of the emperor. Then there loom up in the perspective of centuries, the Monothelite controversy, the Quinisext council, which greatly widened the growing breach between the churches, the Iconoclastic controversy with its momentous issues, the war



of Nicholas I. and Photius,—but these offer material for many lectures, and demand hours for adequate presentation. We must hasten to our end,—the final and irreconcilable schism. To attain it, we must vault over six centuries, to find ourselves in strange surroundings. It is the middle of the eleventh century; the western empire has been re-established in wondrous guise as the Holy Roman Empire of the German nationalities; feudalism is rampant; Norman freebooters have wrested Southern Italy and are preparing to wrest Sicily from the relaxing grasp of the Greek emperor; Leo IX. is on the papal throne; Hildebrand and congenial minds are maturing their vast designs for the aggrandizement of the papacy, which already feels the upward heave of the spring-tide of mediæval devotion. The only way for the Greek church to preserve its self-government is to break off all connection with Rome. The patriarch, Michael Cærularius, commands the churches of Apulia to sever all relations with the Latin church, charging it with many heresies, summing up all previous charges,—the doctrine of the dual procession of the Holy Spirit, compulsory celibacy of the clergy, and the rest,—and adding a new one, the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, on account of which he brands the Latins with the odious appellation, Azymites. Negotiation is fruitless; the thunders of excommunication from

Rome are reverberated from Constantinople; and the schism, the process of ages, is complete. All attempts to heal it have proved nugatory, and it remains to this day one of the most serious obstacles to the reunion of Christendom—that consummation so devoutly wished.



**The Growth of the Papal Supremacy  
and Feudalism.**



## LECTURE IV.

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### *THE GROWTH OF THE PAPAL SUPREMACY AND FEUDALISM.*

IT is a common remark that in a state which has a representative government practical results are accomplished by the conflict of parties, generally only two. The same dualism seems to pervade all human affairs, and is most clearly manifest when they are considered historically. When the two great dominant forces are blended and confused in the thoughts of men, the consequence is apt to be anarchy rather than government, war rather than peace. But over all, throughout the whole series of blind struggles and enthusiastic attempts, which never reach the goals their partisans looked for, the gracious Providence of God actively reigns, working in His mysterious way the preservation of His Church, the salvation of His elect.

We are to consider the clashing of two wonderful ideas in the Middle Ages—the Papal Supremacy and Feudalism. They are both human ideas in the sense that they did not come by Revelation; yet of neither of them can it be said that any man or body of men invented it. The foundation of Feudalism seems to have been the partial understanding of the great natural truth that those to whom God gives power are responsible for the welfare and government of their subjects, and are therefore entitled to their homage and service. Following upon the flocking of warlike heathen tribes, like vultures, to prey upon the remains of the ancient Western Empire, came the inevitable feeling that he who could hold conquered land because he was a mighty war-lord was the ruler to whom others must attach themselves for safety and for the opportunity of getting their bread. We need not consider the steps by which this grew into a system of greater and lesser lords, and vassals owing fealty and doing homage; nor its great enlightening by the institution of Christian chivalry. Feudalism grew up in Christianized tribes which yet retained much of the simple barbarism of their heathen ancestors. It began at a time when the Roman Civil Law was in abeyance, having been paralyzed for a while by the crushing disasters of the Empire. But from the first it found itself in the face of the other great branch of mediæval



law, not systematized it is true, but growing up into its true form and practically in force. The Canon Law, the law of the Church, is founded, in theory at least, on the Divine Revelation. And yet it is believed by a majority of the Church to contain the principle of the Papal Supremacy. As Catholics, to state the matter as exactly as we can, we must hold that whatever theory of the position of Rome in the Universal Church is according to Revelation is properly a part of the Canon Law, and none other.

Before Feudalism comes on the stage we find very largely held, and fully believed by the Pope himself, a theory of his Supremacy which large portions of the Church have been unable to accept, and which has never been accepted by the whole Body. This theory, in substance, is that the only possible centre both of ecclesiastical authority and of Church unity is Rome, the See of St. Peter. Revelation comes to us by the two channels of Holy Scripture and the voice of the Catholic Church. These two agree and mutually interpret each other, and must never be so understood as to conflict with each other. What Holy Scripture says of the Supremacy is not our present subject. It will be our duty to examine the position of the Church as a whole, and to try to understand what was and what was not her corporate voice during the period in which Feudal-

ism was in contact with the papal idea. For we can have no hesitation in saying that if at any time the Church can be shown as one body to have uttered a dogma on this subject we must believe that dogma to be the revealed truth, and must take it as our guide in the interpretation of Scripture. The Church does not reveal; but she is one of the organs of Revelation.

The papal idea is older than Feudalism, and it is still in the full vigour of its life now that Feudalism, as a practical system, has been buried for many centuries. And yet there was a time when, to human eyes, it seemed likely that the younger would overthrow the elder. Four great popes, during the period assigned to this lecture, upheld the banner of Roman Supremacy. The first, Nicolas I., had not yet Feudalism to deal with. In his day it seemed likely that the papal idea would triumph. He was the unquestioned patriarch of the West until his conflict with Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, began; and over him he gained a seeming controversial victory by the use of the Forged Decretals. Hincmar could not know the falsity of those documents, though he may be supposed to have suspected it, if he really said, as it is reported, that they were a mouse-trap to catch metropolitans; but he continued the assertion of Gallican liberties under the successor of

Nicolas, and finally won a substantial victory for the Catholic principle which he thus states :

We are not ignorant that whatever is written from the Apostolic See according to the Sacred Scriptures, the preaching of the ancients, and the authority of Councils, is to be held and obeyed; whatever beyond that has been compiled or forged is not only to be rejected, but refuted also.\*

Nevertheless, Nicolas ruled with a generally undisputed sway. The legate *a latere* was an institution of his reign. He was almost always on the side of truth and decency in the contests which called for his intervention throughout the Western Church, and his pure and lofty character gave weight to his judgments. When therefore he was called upon to decide between two claimants of the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, it seemed as if the acceptance of the papal idea by the whole Church were imminent.

Ignatius was the true patriarch. Photius had been forcibly intruded by the emperor. But it was Photius who made the appeal to Rome, and yet Nicolas gave just judgment as between the two, but in terms of the most absolute papalism. He restores his brother Ignatius to his see by virtue of the power committed to him by our Lord through St. Peter, and subjects all who shall presume to resist this decree to eternal punishment.

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\*Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. III., p. 78. —note.

He truly believed, and acted upon his belief, that an appeal from any diocese in the world might be taken to Rome, and that from her judgment there was no appeal. But we ought to remember that this decision of Nicolas was not *only* the assertion of a *papal* power. It was also the triumphant declaration of the *clerical* power. In the person of the pope the whole clerical body then said to the successor of Augustus, and through him to every secular power, Christian or otherwise, *Presume not to touch spiritual questions, to place or to replace spiritual persons. The Christian hierarchy alone has authority in such matters.* This was the valuable part of the claim made by Nicolas, as it was of the similar claims of succeeding popes. As within the hierarchy, the peculiar claim of an absolute autocracy belonging to Rome was not acknowledged by the Church. Strong expressions on the part of Ignatius may have looked that way; but when Nicolas tried to extend his power over the newly converted Bulgarians, and advised them to avoid the Greeks, Ignatius stoutly resisted the papal claim; and this action speaks so much louder than his mere words of compliment, that the latter may not be counted even as uttering the personal opinion of the patriarch, much less the sentiment of the whole Eastern Church. From this time East and West unhappily draw apart; and there is, so far, nothing that can be con-

strued to be an Ecumenical acknowledgment of the Papal Supremacy.

In other cases, notably the scandalous divorce case, as we should call it, of Lothair II., king of Lorraine, the law of God and the authority of His priesthood were nobly maintained by Pope Nicolas, and the supremacy recognized by that part of the Church which was concerned was as much that of virtue as of Rome.

Our limitations oblige us to pass rapidly over an interval in which there was much confusion, and in which obscure and unworthy pontiffs disgraced the Holy See. That the most frightful profligacy for a while usurped the Apostle's chair, and that the papacy nevertheless rose again to great spiritual glory, is justly regarded as a proof of the divine care over Rome. Also that John XII., a very vile pope, was *deposed* by a council held in Rome at the call of the emperor Otho the Great, and that the deposition is acknowledged by the Roman Church in its registers, is instructive to us and creditable to that Church.\*

Another lesson is found in the history of Gerbert, Archbishop of Rheims, afterwards of Ravenna, and then very soon pope. His predecessor in the See of Rheims, laden with many crimes, was deposed by a council of bishops, who, anticipating

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\*See Encyc. Brit., art. "Popedom," List of Pontiffs.

the opposition of the pope, defied it in advance. The council used this remarkable language about Rome:

She has already lost the allegiance of the East ; Alexandria, Antioch, Africa and Asia are separate from her : Constantinople has broken loose from her. The interior of Spain knows nothing of the Pope.

This unmistakably non-Roman utterance is of the last decade of the tenth century, and probably inspired by Gerbert himself, who had been educated in "the interior of Spain." It is to be noted also that Gerbert was chosen archbishop *by the comprovincial bishops*. They did not approve the choice of the chapter of Rheims, and therefore made and consecrated their own choice. But Pope John XV. sent his legate, who excommunicated the champion of episcopal authority, and, the secular power being against Gerbert, he was obliged to retire from his see into Germany. There he was greatly honored for his character and learning until his elevation to the papacy as Silvester II. In that elevation the emperor Otho had tried to institute a reformation of the degraded papacy. But he was not successful, partly because he mistook the nature of his own imperial power, and partly because he was weak enough to fall victim to a woman's revenge.

About half a century later a similar attempt was more successful. The emperor, Henry III.,

was implored to put an end to the scandal arising from the presence in Rome of three claimants of the throne of St. Peter. Benedict IX. held the Lateran, Gregory VI. Santa Maria Maggiore, Silvester III. St. Peter's and the Vatican. Henry came into Italy and assembled a council in the year 1046. By that council the three claimants were all deposed. (Two of them appear in the Roman register as having resigned.) Gregory VI. confessed himself guilty of simony in buying the papacy, which, however, appears to have been his one fault and not without palliating circumstances. To such circumstances must be attributed the friendship of the severely righteous Hildebrand, already a power in the Church, who went into exile with his unhappy friend. Clement II. became pope, and was the first of a line of very respectable German pontiffs, by whom the honor of Rome was redeemed.\*

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\* The most distinguished among these was Leo IX. (Bruno, Bishop of Toul), the influence of whose reign was very great in preparing Europe to receive the bold and lofty claims of Gregory VII. Of princely lineage and of spotless life, he was, at least in the earlier part of his pontificate, an ideal pope. In less than five years he made three magnificent progresses in France and Germany, showing himself the worthy and veritable head of Christendom,

“Fervent, and full of apostolic grace,”

holding councils, receiving the obedient submission of



## II.

And so we come to the second of the four chief popes of our period, Gregory VII. (Hildebrand). Has there ever been a greater than he since his first great namesake? Fearless, forgiving even when subjected to the most atrocious personal injuries, straightforward and inflexible in his duty as he saw it, the deadly foe of all wickedness and of all that seemed to him to make for the injury of the Church of God, using no carnal weapons, yet conquering the greatest sovereign of his time, by no means well spoken of by all men and yet extorting the admiration, in all ages, of the bitterest enemies of his cause; it is possible for men to say that he was utterly wrong, but it is hard for them not at least to bear him witness that he had a zeal for God and a majesty of character such as only the greatest of mankind exhibit.

He found Feudalism in the vigor of its days throughout Europe. He found the Western Church convulsed by fierce conflicts between the clergy who did not practise celibacy and their opponents; he found it honeycombed with im-

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penitent princes, and inspiring the national churches with loyalty to Rome as their centre of unity. Only in Italy, where he was betrayed into the error of campaigning like a secular prince, did he fail to show men what a pope ought to be. But he was not much in Italy.

purity and simony. Feudalism seemed to have much to do with this state of things. It led to the appointment of unfit members of great families to holy offices, bishoprics and abbeys, for the sake of the revenues. With these intruders, ignorant, vicious, soldier and robber prelates, lawless and unchaste, the comparatively innocent and humbler violators of the papal decrees and the canons requiring celibacy were involved in one common condemnation. When we think of Gregory's war against married priests we must take the feudal idea into consideration. A benefice was thought of as a fief. The clergy were, and are, necessarily, a caste. The reformation of the Church required that they should be a caste distinct from the secular orders whose powers and privileges depended upon their holdings. It was already beginning to be the case that married priests were leaving their benefices to their sons, and the benefices were becoming ordinary fiefs. The dangers of this tendency to the cause of religion were much aggravated by the prevalence of simony and its other self, lay investiture. We cannot, without some effort, understand a state of things so different from all that we are familiar with.\* The

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\* The few cases of lay holding of ecclesiastical offices of which we know in England are curious and monstrous fossil survivals of this mediæval abuse.

separation of the ecclesiastic was more necessary in those days than even the most enthusiastic preacher of the brotherhood of man supposes the assimilation of the ecclesiastic to the laity to be now. If anything was to be done to save Christian society from ruin, the priestly caste, pure and untainted, must be the preservative force. Nothing but a conviction of its absolute necessity could have induced a man of Gregory's statesman-like insight to make that hard and odious fight for celibacy. He foresaw, from the beginning of his pontificate, that his great struggle was to be about another matter, and with Henry IV., who was equally ready with him to enforce celibacy upon the clergy. When he asked Henry, according to the prescribed form, to confirm his election to the papacy (not to invest him or to crown him, be it observed), he warned him that there would be a struggle between them. He knew the emperor thoroughly, from his childhood. He knew the unscrupulous licentiousness, the tyrannical self-will and hypocritical power of recommending himself, which made that prince one of the worst the world has ever seen.

It must be remembered that at least from the time of Charlemagne the empire was esteemed a *sacred* office—it was the *Holy* Roman Empire. It was not a feudal dignity; it was not based on

the ownership of land.\* Until the German king had gone to Rome and had been crowned he was only emperor-elect. Such was the idea of those times. When the Apostle commanded Christians to "honour the king" the governing powers were heathen; yet, notwithstanding their heathenism, they were the ministers of God for certain purposes. When Constantine became Christian, or semi-Christian, he had an interest in Church matters to which his predecessors were utter strangers. He very properly professed, whatever we may think of his actions, as a layman to sit at the feet of the clergy in spiritual matters. Not so was it with the mediæval emperors. They felt that their divine Commission must extend to the spirituality, and that *in that sphere* the ecclesiastic must "honour the king." They believed that unless the clergy were subject to them they would constitute a dangerous *imperium in imperio*, threatening their authority as a whole. Feudalism, the one theory of government which had possession of men's minds then, as democracy has in these days, increased very much this apprehension. Although the emperor, as such, was not a feudal lord, the feudal idea so pervaded all relations that whoever was not a

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\* See anecdote of Frederick Barbarossa and the jurist Bulgarus mentioned in Bryce's "Holy Roman Empire," Chap. XII.



sovereign was thought of as somebody's man. If a wealthy archbishop or abbot, who by virtue of his office was the feudal lord of a domain, and maintained knights and men-at-arms, was not the emperor's man, whose man was he? He must be compelled to receive his benefice from the emperor, and to acknowledge him as his lord, by taking the ring and staff from him. The pope, the head and representative of all churchmen, on the other hand, looked at the spiritual side of the prelatical office; and that side needed attention very seriously. Simony was universal and rampant. Other vices were entirely too frequent. The Lord had commissioned St. Peter and his successors to watch over the lives of their brethren in the priesthood and to strengthen them against sin. Feudalism had also taken possession of the minds of the pope and papalists, and colored their way of thinking of all government. The clergy all owed homage and obedience to the Fisherman, who in turn would protect them from the encroachments of the civil power. The emperor also, holding a peculiarly sacred office, and receiving his crown from the pope, must be subject to the pope in some degree, as the bishops were. Problems of which some (by no means all) appear to have been solved, and others have become obsolete or quiescent to us, were in full force to the mediæval mind; and then, as ever,

conviction or self-interest, according to the moral condition of each character, drove men to strong advocacy of one side or the other of questions which they were not able to solve. Feudalism and its proselyte, the Empire, on the one side, contended against the Church's liberty and its ally, the feudalistic papacy; and God, in the course of centuries, wrought out results which would have astonished Gregory beyond measure. What would he have thought if he could have seen, in at least one great Catholic realm, a poor and chaste clergy, living with their wives and families, doing the work of God in peace, and respected by all the people? What if he could have seen that this community had been lifted out of the mire of political and religious chaos in which a self-willed and licentious tyrant had raged against both clerical and Papal Supremacy, albeit with complete success only as to the latter? So far history has brought us. What will it yet show? May we try to imagine him as foreseeing the further progress of that Church, going on, without papal protection, to a complete restoration of the Catholic use of sacraments and devout ascetic life after the ancient manner? God knows. When to our wondering thankfulness for facts accomplished we attempt to add prophecy, we are at sea. Gregory could not tell what was coming,

and we cannot. It is enough if, like him, we act well our part.

The conflict between the pope and the emperor was begun like a veritable battle of the giants. Both of them knew perfectly well what was to be the real issue. Gregory held a synod in which he denied, in a short and pithy decree, the possibility of investiture in sacred offices by the temporal sovereign. Both the cleric accepting and the sovereign bestowing investiture were cut off by this decree from all the privileges of the Church. Then Henry determined to resist. He had made himself powerful in Germany. He had appeared to be the submissive son of the Church until a Saxon insurrection was put down, and so long as he was only called upon to express regret for his personal faults and to oppose simony and clerical incontinence. But now he deliberately violated the rule laid down by Gregory's synod. He granted the Archbishopric of Milan and investiture to Bishops of Fermo and Spoleto, without the knowledge or consent of the pope. Gregory did not hesitate to summon him to Rome to answer for his disobedience. Henry, of course, did not purpose to appear; but he was a good general, and knew two things about his subjects which it is well for us to note. Germany had been christianized from Rome and had imbibed with the fundamentals of the faith the idea that Rome



was the mother of churches. The imperial authority, on the other hand, not being a strictly feudal power, had not a very strong hold on their mental allegiance. I refer to popular feeling.\* It was not that the Papal Supremacy was distinctly held as a doctrine by priest and people; but that to Henry's vassals Rome represented Heaven, and was a power to be feared because of sanctions extending beyond this life, while the empire was of their own creation. He therefore

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\* It is to this kind of feeling, I think, that we must attribute such mistakes as that of Dr. Bryce and other writers, who, only superficially considering the ecclesiastical point of view, speak of "the universal and undisputed authority of the pope" ("Holy Roman Empire," end of Chap. XII.). In a note the distinguished author explains that it was only universal and undisputed as to the West. But it would have been more accurate to have spoken of an *alleged* universality even in the West. Such disregard of the whole ecclesiastical bearing of facts makes books of this class, however entertaining they may be, of slight value for the purposes of serious churchmen. It may be confidently said that there never was a time when the doctrine of the Papal Supremacy, strictly speaking, was apprehended and admitted throughout the entire West. To look to Rome as the head often meant no more than the missionary and colonial churches looking to Canterbury means in modern Anglicanism. It would not be difficult to imagine a case arising in Africa to-day which would have exactly the ecclesiastical features of Germany's and England's relation to Rome in early papal times. And yet no one in Africa even dreams of the Archbishop as having a papal supremacy over the colonies.

determined *that the pope must be deposed*. This goes to show how the German idea of the Roman primacy differed from Gregory's. A pope that can be deposed is only the mouthpiece of the Church—a kind of spiritual emperor: but so long as he is not deposed the Bishop of Rome speaks the sentence of the Catholic Church, before which even the emperor must tremble.

So Henry summoned a synod at Worms. Many German prelates were angrily ready to rebel against Gregory because his attacks on clerical vices had touched them. Others were compelled by the emperor. Between the two a large council was assembled. Siegfried, Archbishop of Mentz, who was under the pope's sentence of degradation, took his seat as primate. A long list of crimes were (it is generally admitted falsely) charged against Gregory. He was declared deposed, and the bishops singly renounced their allegiance to him. Henry thereupon wrote an insolent letter to Gregory, and sent an envoy who boldly pronounced the deposition of the pope in the other council, at Rome, to which the emperor had been summoned to answer for himself. Gregory found it necessary to interpose to save the life of the messenger. He then had Henry's letter read, as of itself a sufficient accusation against him. The council unanimously called for sentence on the emperor, which was formally pro-

nounced by the supreme pontiff. Beginning with a solemn address to St. Peter, he interdicts Henry from the government of Germany and Italy, absolves his subjects from their allegiance; and because of *disobedience* and *schism* he binds him with the anathema "that all the nations of the earth may know that thou art Peter, that upon thy rock the Son of the Living God has built His Church, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

Henry made an ill-starred attempt to treat this sentence lightly. In William of Utrecht he found a prelate willing to answer anathema with anathema; he not only excommunicated Gregory, but continually declaimed against him on public occasions. Very soon the hand of God was seen of all to intervene. William of Utrecht was stricken with mortal illness and died unhouselled and unabsolved, his ravings filled with remorseful self-accusation for his sin against the pope. The cathedral in which he had excommunicated Gregory was struck by lightning. Henry's vassals fell away from him like leaves in autumn. From the outset he could make no stand. The curse of the Church was irresistible. It is unnecessary to trace the course of the unequal contest, or to describe the absolute surrender at Canossa. I will only ask you to observe, because of the light it throws on Henry's character, that even his suing

for absolution there was itself an act of determined wilfulness. He had submitted to the popular verdict and to the Divine. He was *actually* a deposed emperor, whether any believe that the power of deposition resided in the pope, in the Church, in the great princes, or in the people—all had deposed and renounced him. Himself had renounced his royal state. His journey over the Alps was that of a private man, and under very great hardships. But he was determined to have absolution, at all hazards, that he might win back his power; and he simulated penitence that he might get the talisman he required before the time of the council which Gregory had appointed to be held at Augsburg. Gregory's one act of weakness was in granting that absolution, which Henry immediately showed he ought not to have had,\*and by means of which he began at once to re-establish himself.

The conflict was not ended while Gregory lived. There was another excommunication of Henry by Gregory, another deposition of Gregory by a council subservient to Henry, the setting up of an anti-pope, the capture of Rome by Henry, when

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\* Milman graphically describes the "judgment of God," in which the pope, solemnly protesting his own innocence of the crimes with which he had been charged, thereupon received the Holy Sacrament, and then called upon Henry to do the same; but he dared not.

Gregory from his refuge in the castle of St. Angelo had the grief of seeing the excommunicated emperor and his anti-pope enter Rome; the interference of Robert Guiscard and his Normans; the destruction of old Rome by fire; the death of Gregory in exile. He is reported to have said, "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile"; which saying has been misinterpreted as the utterance of bitterness and pride. Bearing in mind the Scriptural connection, the Christian must interpret those words as the cry of thankfulness and triumph: to be an exile upon earth is to be anointed with the confessors' oil of gladness. Henry died in wretchedness, detested and dethroned, having first endured the ignominy of the exposure of his unspeakable vileness by his wife and son at the Council of Piacenza,\* and then the revolt of his second son, who became the Emperor Henry V.

The principle for which Gregory contended, that the investiture of the clergy must be by the ecclesiastical power, triumphed in the reign of Henry V. and the pontificate of Calixtus II. by the Concordat of Worms. It has been thought by some, who have only imperfectly grasped the meaning of this conflict, that the final issue was a compromise; but a Churchman cannot so regard

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\* Milman's *Latin Christianity*, bk. vii. c. v.

it. The emperor surrendered completely the claim to investiture by ring and staff, and granted to the clergy the right to free election. From that time until the present what is now called Erastianism, although it may have had some prevalence in places for a time, has generally been a discredited and rejected principle. Even in England, where it has been strongest since the Reformation, recent events have shown that the consciences of Churchmen will never submit to secular domination. This triumph throughout the whole Western Church we owe, under God, to Gregory VII.\* If the emperors had been successful, as they would have been if Gregory had not withstood to the bitter end, it seems probable that the Church to-day would everywhere be little more than a department of the government.

But this was not a triumph of the papacy, nor did it involve any growth, in general influence and pervasiveness, of the Roman idea of Supremacy. If Gregory had considered himself simply the agent of the universal West, appointed by the Church to carry out her policy, his words would have been different, but his actions and their results would

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\* It may be said that to him must be attributed the perpetuation and strengthening of the papal idea; but surely the triumph of Erastianism would have been a much greater evil. Israel, with his blessing, took a lameness of the thigh; but we need not partake of the sinew which shrank.

have been substantially what they in fact were. Then, as ever, the spiritual power, earnestly put forth, proved stronger in the end than the temporal power, which in one form or another is always assailing it. Gregory had a feudalized conception of the spiritual power, and thought he was vindicating the Papal Supremacy, which he did not distinguish from the clerical supremacy. The Henrys contended for a spiritual origin of the temporal power, and lacked the Catholic idea of the spiritual Kingdom of Christ. Both sides made many mistakes, but Erastianism was broken, and Papalism, I am convinced, really took no increase of influence from these events. The powers of the world evidently learned to distinguish more clearly than before between the things that are Cæsar's and the things that are God's. If Henry's idea had been sound, Cæsar would have been made a god, as in the old heathen time; if Gregory's, the Kingdom of God would have become a kingdom sprung of this world, another Roman empire. As it was, from his time a martial character, which savors of bloodshed rather than of tears of mercy and penitence, seems to have stamped itself upon the Holy See. The papal armies of later days are foreshadowed, or even forefathered by Robert Guiscard and his Normans, from whom Gregory had help in his extremity; at first they were welcome, but afterwards most calamitous.



There is a sensation, in mentally passing from the times and struggles of the Franconian emperors into those of their successors, as if one had emerged from a grand but frowning mountain pass into a broad open country, wherein many beautiful natural objects, many walled towns, monasteries, castles, villages and churches greet the eye on all sides. It is no longer a mighty tragedy on which all our interest is concentrated, but a diversified scene of varied attractions and of disasters which are only local and temporary. Nevertheless one great thought runs through that century: Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulchre, that they may be delivered. Peter the Hermit and Pope Urban II. had given the impulse before the fall of Henry IV., and Godfrey of Bouillon had entered Jerusalem in 1099. Stephen Harding the Cistercian, the glorious St. Bernard, the brilliant and self-willed Abélard with his unwholesome romance, Arnold of Brescia seeking the overthrow both of mitre and crown, the Protestant monk, the Roundhead ally of Abélard the Liberal because both were against the Church, Hadrian IV. the English pope, Frederick Barbarossa, Thomas à Becket, Gratian, Philip Augustus and Richard I., the crusading kings—such as these and the events with which we have learned to connect their names make the twelfth century a field of tempting historical delights, through which we

must fly, guarding ourselves against delay, to the great pontificate of Innocent III.

We have to do with the Papal Supremacy, and it is to be noted, as to this intervening period:—

1. That Pope Pascal II., having weakly given way to Henry V. in the matter of investitures, the Council of Vienne, in 1112, rebuked him, excommunicated the emperor, and forced the pope to obey its will. The whole career of this pope shows that, in the opinion of the Church, the body of the Church yet remained to be trusted and appealed to after the pope had failed.

2. Innocent II., sustained by St. Bernard of Clairvaux, the greatest of all papalists and pope-makers, held the Lateran Council of 1139, at which there were present a thousand bishops besides many other dignitaries, and there he proclaimed that "Rome is the head of the world," and that "by license of the Roman pontiff the dignity of ecclesiastical honour is held, as it were, by the custom of a feudal right, and is not legally held without his permission." This is full-fledged Papal Supremacy. How generally was it received? For:

3. Under Eugenius III. (circ. 1145) William Archbishop of York, having been deposed by the pope at the instance of St. Bernard, resisted, finally triumphed, and in due course was *canonized*.

4. Again, in opposition to St. Bernard, in the case of Gilbert, Bishop of Poitiers, the *cardinals* claimed that not the pope alone, but the pope *with them* should frame *articles of faith*.

5. There being several anti-popes in the time of Frederick Barbarossa, who vainly tried to regain the acknowledgment of a spiritual-feudal power in the empire, it became necessary to have recourse to councils and to the voices of the several churches accepting or rejecting claimants. On one occasion at least the election by the cardinals was a ridiculous farce.

During this period the affairs of England were of more import to Europe than those of Rome. Without attempting to give an outline of the contest between Becket and Henry II., it will be well for us to take a rapid review of the attitude of the English hierarchy, both towards the See of Rome and towards the King. Going back to the period immediately after the conquest, we find that William's archbishop, Lanfranc, although with the pope's approval he dispossessed the Saxon bishops, yet refused to go to Rome at the demand of Gregory VII., and acquiesced in the Conqueror's refusal of allegiance and subsidy to that pontiff. But also he resisted the encroachments of the king and of his son, William Rufus, on the property of the Church.

The gentle Anselm proved too stout for Henry

I. in the matter of investitures. The warlike bishops who succeeded even claimed the right to elect the king ; but neither their characters nor their judgments are important factors in determining ecclesiastical questions.

And so we come to Becket and the Constitutions of Clarendon. Those statutes aimed at the feudal subjection of the clergy to the king, and claimed final jurisdiction for the king in ecclesiastical causes, unless the king allowed an appeal to the pope. To this Becket would not consent; as a faithful bishop he could not consent. At this very day the sentiment of the Church of England is precisely in Becket's attitude with regard to appeals. The unity of the Church is broken; they cannot appeal to the pope, but they will not appeal to the crown nor allow such an appeal; by God's grace they never will. It seems to me clear that Becket's idea was of the ecclesiastical as distinguished from the Papal Supremacy. He applies to his own action the text so often claimed by popes: "See, I have set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant." \* When the pope, in his weakness, temporized, and failed Becket, he rebuked him in terms inconsistent with papalism; he appealed

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Jer. i. 10.

from Rome to God. He summoned the king of England to appear before him, excommunicated him, and wrote to the English bishops to lay the whole kingdom under an interdict unless the king should have given satisfaction by a certain date. Everything that Gregory VII. did with Henry IV. this Anglican pontiff did with Henry II., without the pope, and even, as it were, in defiance of Roman interference. And mark the result. A part of Henry's penance for his complicity in Becket's murder was the abrogation of the Constitutions of Clarendon.

### III.

Through these varied scenes we come, at the very end of the century, to the pontificate of Innocent III., and, as it must have seemed, to the golden age of the papacy. In the prime of life himself, the new pope found the legitimate heir to the empire and to the kingdom of Sicily a baby, and all Europe well disposed to receive himself as the true father and head of Christendom. The Crusades had been the means of drawing immense revenues to Rome, and had accustomed the nations to the idea of such tribute. Jerusalem was again in the hands of the Saracens, and the feeling that Christendom ought to recover it was strong. Innocent was a wise and careful politi-

cian. Rome had become comparatively quiet for a season. By secret largesses the ever venal citizens were won, and the representative of the empire, whose power was now practically in abeyance, was induced to swear allegiance to the pope. Innocent secured all power in the city for his own spiritual courts, and addressed himself to the charge of making them just and upright. He was himself a lawyer and law-giver of great ability, and innumerable appeals were taken to Rome from the beginning of his reign.

All Italy was rejoicing over the prospect of deliverance from the hard yoke of Germany. A vivid recollection of the cruelties of Henry VI. made people everywhere welcome an alliance with the pope against the detested Ghibellines. Innocent wisely chose to make no terms with that party, and he utterly subdued it. He recaptured the lands of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, which she had left to the pope. Constantia, Henry's widow, Queen of Sicily, asked of the pope investiture for her infant son, Frederick, acknowledging Sicily to be a papal fief. Innocent granted her request. Constantia died, and left her son to the pope's guardianship.

In Germany there were two rival emperors, Philip and Otho, both having received the royal crown in the same year in which Innocent was made pope, and there was also the claim of young

Frederick of Hohenstaufen, King of Sicily, to be considered. The last Innocent ignored on the ground that the infancy of his ward rendered him unfit for the responsibilities of the empire. He assumed the rôle of arbiter between the two active contestants, with great political skill holding them both in his hand as long as possible, and at last deciding for Otho, who seemed the more pious and obedient. This of course led to a breach with and excommunication of Philip, the other claimant. A fierce war raged for ten years between these two, during which neither of them had time to dispute the authority of the pope or to claim from his hands the imperial crown. At last Philip was assassinated, by a private enemy, just as negotiations with him were being brought to a conclusion favourable to Rome, in consequence of which he had been absolved. Thus Otho's faithfulness to the Apostolic See was barely saved from a rude repulse, and he was crowned because there was not her claimant. Not unnaturally, he showed himself very like other emperors when once he had gotten possession. He seized the pope's lands in Italy, and was about to expel young Frederick from Sicily. Thus all at once Innocent's political schemes seemed to be failing him. But Otho was suddenly called back to Germany by news of a revolt there, and by a wonderful turn of the wheel the fortunes of Rome revived.



One of the most extraordinary events of history was the entrance of Frederick II. on his German inheritance. But sixteen years of age, brought up in Sicily, a lover of all that was gay and beautiful, he found himself called to rude and inclement Germany, without an army, with only the blessing of the Holy Father, his guardian, for his protection. He went to Rome, sailed to Genoa, then up the pass of Trent, and thence, avoiding Otho's guards, by devious ways to Constance, having been joined by a little force of the retainers of the Abbot of St. Gall. But Germany was ready for him. All along the Rhine they declared for him. He had only to wait and see Otho's power crumble away. Philip Augustus of France declared for Frederick. The Battle of Bouvines crushed the last hopes of Otho. Innocent was triumphant in the friendship and gratitude of the undisputed king and emperor.

Like the other great papal champions of Supremacy, Innocent had his opportunity to show how necessary the concentration of ecclesiastical power was to the maintenance of Christian marriage. He and Philip Augustus of France stand before the Church of all ages as embodiments of purity and licentiousness. Innocent was strong and wise, Philip powerful and self-willed. The pope had a bad case to manage, but he was confident of the righteousness of his cause and he struck as

hard as he knew how to strike. It should always be remembered in his honour that in this conflict he was faithful in spite of strong political reasons for compromise. The interdict was a frightful weapon to use, but both the occasion and the result justified it. Is it a gain that, under modern conditions, the nations have no one to teach them that the law of God is above both the will of princes and the views of the popular majority ?

The relations of England to the papacy took a remarkable form in this reign. We are all brought up to despise King John, and his course is so well fixed in our memories that of his dealings with Innocent we need only note the fact that the surrender of his realm which he made to the pope had really no ecclesiastical force or meaning. It was purely political. He acknowledged the pope as his feudal lord. He might have made a similar surrender to the King of France or the Archbishop of Cologne. When, by way of sustaining his royal vassal, Innocent undertook to excommunicate the upholders of the Great Charter, Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, refused to publish the excommunication; and, to show their sympathy with him, the clergy chose his brother Simon Archbishop of York. Stephen submitted to the pope's sentence of suspension, and suffered in silence, but did not obey.

Notwithstanding the adventitious glory which

from various causes the papal power seems to have been clothed with at this period, we find a striking proof of its hollowness in the cynical independence of the Republic of Venice. Innocent's great crusade, under Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was diverted from its course and turned against the Christian empire of the East by the management of the Venetians; they tried to secure for themselves both the appointment to the empire of Constantinople and the patriarchate; and while they never needlessly provoked the spiritual thunders of Rome, they showed themselves absolutely fearless of them in the pursuit of their schemes of ambition. One gets the impression that Venice was so prosperous and so worldly as to be godless. To have disregarded the pope's censure on the ground that his episcopal authority did not extend to Venice would have been one thing; to divert a crusade to private and unchristian ends, and to treat an interdict with contempt while still professing to be Roman Catholics was another. It has a modern flavor.

It is not surprising therefore to find in this reign the first strong manifestations of an increasing undercurrent of heresy, the up-springing of the relics of the primitive gnostic sects, and the foreshadowing of Continental Protestantism. There were several sects, of extremely variant doctrines, but in one thing they all agreed; they

all rejected the Catholic priesthood and sacraments depending upon the Apostolic Succession. The Waldenses were a sober sort of Presbyterian Protestants. The Albigenses, on the other hand, upon whom the fury of the Inquisition fell, were neither more nor less than detestable Manicheans. What were called "the two principles" formed the basis of their doctrinal scheme. The sunny and joyous lands of Languedoc and Provence, where pleasure and song were the gods both of great and little people, were the ready fields in which the spawn of Eastern heresy sprang up with fungus-like rapidity. The Inquisition was a dreadful remedy; but no ordinary remedy would do. The Cistercians were the first inquisitors, but the work was soon taken up by the grave and austere Dominicans and was done with the terrible zeal of their Order's youth. It is easy to join in Protestantism's chorus of condemnation; but what should we have done in the face of the demoralizing and socially ruinous facts of that Manicheism? Suppose, for example, our whole Southern section converted to Mormonism and from the greatest to the least determined to maintain it in all its vilest features. Perhaps we should hit upon a better scheme than that which Innocent's advisers compelled him to sanction, but it requires a mighty optimism as to our own capacity for government to think so. The pope did not neglect

first to appeal to the local authorities; but they were all tainted. The noble was as bad as the peasant. Sovereigns who wished to enforce moral living in their dominions looked to the pope to help them over the manifold obstacles with which feudalism stopped their reforming way. The pope looked to his trusty army, the Religious, and they did successfully the awful work.

There were many other ways in which the two great Orders which were instituted by Innocent and his successor furthered the cause of the Church and the papacy. It is a familiar theme how they revived the neglected instrumentality of preaching, and delivered the Church from the incapacity and inefficiency of the secular clergy, at the same time strengthening everywhere the authority of Rome.

Innocent III. was cut off in the prime of life, and in the full tide of his power. The papacy and the empire were at peace. England and other realms were acknowledged fiefs of the Holy See. The French king's vileness was humbled. A monstrous heresy was crushed, albeit by means the cruelty of which was a distress to him. His personal character was everywhere esteemed reverend and blameless, and he was looked up to as a born ruler of men. And yet in these after ages it has become perfectly clear that his career is only one among the many instances of the truth

that men's qualities and policies have little to do with the results of history. His idea was the establishment of the clerical power and the Papal Supremacy, as one and the same cause, by means of the imperial and feudal secular organization which the papacy had, at least apparently, established. But the one permanently successful act of his reign was his upholding the indissolubility of marriage in his dealing with Philip Augustus; and it ought to be said, on all proper occasions, to the credit of the Church of Rome, that she has most bravely and faithfully maintained this principle throughout the ages. Instances of venality, and of hypocritical evasion of the law, only accentuate the glorious record, in which the Church of England may be proud to have followed her elder sister, and from which the people of England, and still more our own people, may take unmitigated shame to themselves that they have gone so far astray. But in other matters Innocent's feudalizing made his triumphs not only transient and unreal, but also the fruitful causes of trouble and final overthrow to his successors and followers. His reign really marks the beginning of the downfall of the Papal Supremacy. Thenceforward it was more and more strongly asserted, more and more weakly believed. Like those of old who insisted "The temple of the Lord are these," it was not long in falling into that captivity to which from Innocent's day it was doomed.



Never did German emperor begin a conflict with the papacy more subtly than Innocent's ward, young Frederick II. He promised to undertake the crusade, and made strong professions of loyalty to Honorius III. But then he had his son Henry elected king of Germany without consulting the pope. At the same time he won the prelates of Germany to friendship by a number of valuable concessions which he gave to them by charters. And these concessions were of *temporalities*. Innocent had reigned by means of the things that be Cæsar's; Frederick was going to use them on the other side. When he was twenty-six years old he went down into Italy in great state to receive the imperial crown. He took the Cross, and gave the pope many temporal possessions. He was, in full sympathy with the spirit of that age, a great lawgiver; and he made his legislation conform to the canon law and to the purposes of the popes. Honorius is reported to have said that pope never before loved emperor as he loved Frederick.

In the interval that was to pass before the armament could be ready for Frederick's crusade, he married (he was now a widower) Iolante, the daughter of the dethroned King John of Jerusalem, an unfortunate monarch who went about Europe seeking funds to recover the Holy City. Frederick, so soon as he was married, showed the



dark side of his character by taking to himself his poor father-in-law's title of King of Jerusalem, against which John impotently protested. But Honorius died without having much trouble with this young emperor. The contest began under Gregory IX., who was eighty years old when he was consecrated, but reigned thirteen years with great vigour. It was not a contest about anything definite, like investitures, but only in a general way for supremacy. The temporal and spiritual power were by this time so completely blended in men's thoughts that it was as if two potentates of the same sort were contending. The value of anathemas had come to be measured by their political effect; the value of treaties and promises by their deceiving power. It was simply, Would a Holy Roman Emperor be obedient to a Holy Roman Bishop, or would he not ?

Frederick now began visibly to deteriorate. He had many qualities of greatness, but he was not proof against the seductions of his lovely native land. He became Saracenized, fond of pleasure and of "the gay science," devoted rather to secular learning than to the Faith. The Sultan of Egypt sent him costly gifts. His crusading ardour cooled. He failed to fulfil his vow and was excommunicated. Afterwards he went to Palestine, contemptuously disregarding the fact that he had not been absolved, and there proved him-

self a lukewarm and rationalistic crusader, preferring the pleasures of Saracen camps to the field of battle. At last he made a disastrous treaty; and having won thereby the further displeasure of the pope, when he got home there was open war between them. A peace was patched up however by the submission of Frederick. In a nine years' calm which followed Frederick betook himself to legislation for his realm of Sicily. His "Constitutions" are of the liberal order towards Jews, Saracens and Orthodox Easterns, but show no mercy towards heretics and schismatics. He acknowledged clerical immunities, and adopted the law of Innocent III. as to elections of bishops, that is to say, election by chapter, subject to consent both of king and pope. But he abrogated the higher ecclesiastical courts and restricted appeals to Rome. He asserted and exercised the right of legitimizing the children of the clergy. Thus, although Frederick's Constitutions were never very much in practical use, we may draw from them a pretty clear idea of the extent to which the spiritual authority was established, and what points seemed assailable to the opponents of that authority. Since the days of Gregory VII. the clerical principle had made a substantial advance.

After this interval of rest, the conflict broke out afresh; both war of weapons and wordy war. We

cannot follow all its shiftings. Let us only observe that what the pope had to fear was that his successors would be vassals of Frederick, who was determined to be lord of all Italy; that Frederick made an appeal to the cardinals and the Romans, in which he said that he tried, if possible, to distinguish the personal cause of the pope from the cause of the Church; that (most amazing and valuable fact) when Gregory sought the aid of St. Louis of France by offering to place his brother Robert on the imperial throne, St. Louis, with great dignity, severely rebuked the pope; not saying that *the Church* was without power to depose the emperor, but that it must be done *by a general council* which would give Frederick a fair trial.

The conflict continued after Gregory's death, in the pontificate of Innocent IV., who was driven from Rome by Frederick, and could find refuge nowhere in Europe but at Lyons. Thence he excommunicated Frederick and ordered the clergy to publish the sentence. Many of them did so; but a priest in Paris, according to Fleury, took the truly Gallic course of announcing: "The emperor, and the pope mutually condemn each other; that one of the two who is guilty I excommunicate, that one who is guiltless I absolve." And this was barely thirty years from the time of Innocent III. The opposition of Frederick, his

ward, had brought the fabric of his greatness to ruin and emptiness.

According to the suggestion of St. Louis, Innocent summoned a general council at Lyons, at which only one hundred and forty Bishops, many of them titulars, appeared. There Frederick was excommunicated and deposed. The intense and tragical gravity of the proceedings was relieved by a very amusing touch of nature. Proctors of the Church of England were present, come to protest against the exactions of papal officers under which that country was groaning. They were full of their message. At a most solemn period, when the spiritual head of Christendom was about to pronounce the temporal and eternal destruction of its secular head, they broke in with their long and bitter complaint of exactions, sturdily asserting the financial claims of England amid the crash of worlds.

This carries us back a little way, to consider what had been taking place in England since the accession of Honorius. King John died, the heir was a child, and the barons ready to submit. The pope was lord paramount, and the cardinal legate mulcted the clergy; which was really an Erastian proceeding, because the pope's holding was secular, through the king. England was held as a papal province during the whole reign of Henry III.; *but that is a very different thing from spiritual*

*supremacy.* At length the exactions were pushed too far. The pope claimed two prebends in each cathedral. The synod of Westminster laughed. The king said a very good thing: "When the rest of Christendom shall have consented to this measure, we will consult with our prelates whether it be right to follow their example." It was strongly suggested that there might be a secession from Rome. As time went on the irritation increased. Papal envoys were ill-treated and papal bulls trampled on. Hence the strong determination of those proctors at Lyons.

The conflict between pope and emperor went on in the usual way, Frederick's fortunes ever darkening after his excommunication by the council, until his death. Thus went out the light of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, in the person of one whose attractions appeal to us through all these centuries in spite of his crimes—of whom we cannot but say, as of several of his predecessors, if he had only been a *good* man, how different the history of the Church might have been! What a contrast such an emperor as Frederick II. or such a pope as Innocent IV. offers to their great contemporary Louis IX.! He was severe to himself, gentle to all others; he detested wrong and robbery whether it were practised by pope, cardinal or baron. He too gave himself to legislation, and his Pragmatic Sanction, more enduring than Frederick's Consti-



tutions, laid the foundations of Gallicanism, with the greatest reverence limiting the power of Rome to rule and plunder other churches, and so accomplishing far more towards checking her tyranny than all the violence of Frederick. It is a proof that God is with the Church of Rome, that by her Louis, and such as he, the true salt of the earth, have been canonized, though their hearts have not been with the men of Rome, or with the cause of the Papal Supremacy.

Very bad times for the papacy followed on the death of Innocent IV. Weak popes balanced as well as they could between the ever-changing political powers. Italy was all involved in civil war. Pope Urban IV. invited Charles of Anjou into Italy, and gave him the throne of Sicily, an act from which sprang many disastrous consequences. At last, one day, the choice of the Sacred College fell upon an ecclesiastic of humble rank, who was in Palestine at the time, and he proved a better pope than many of his predecessors. He took the name of Gregory X., and ascended the throne in 1274. His chief idea was to hold a great Ecumenical Council, and to bring about union with the Eastern Church. The Latin empire of Constantinople had fallen, and Constantine Palæologus was reigning, who also earnestly desired to bring about a union of the universal Church. A large council assembled at Lyons. Ambassadors

came from Constantinople.\* The Latins sang the Nicene Creed in Latin, the Greeks in Greek, and when they came to the *Filioque* they all said it three times. But Gregory soon died; the whole work of the council went to pieces, and the Eastern Church refused to ratify the acts of their emperor and his ambassadors. Nicholas III. and Martin IV., successors of Gregory, were too exacting towards them.

Martin IV. was the pope of the cruel Charles of Anjou, who now, for a long time, with his French soldiery, had been oppressing the Sicilians. At last the pair were astounded by the terrible revolution which was begun by the Sicilian Vespers, after which their power seemed utterly to fail, and another season of great depression fell on the papacy. At last, after a succession of unimportant or worthless popes, Celestine V., a devout and utterly ignorant hermit, was elected, brought to Rome much against his will, and crowned. He was little more than a puppet, and longed for his hermitage. So Benedetto Gaetani, wishing to be pope himself, frightened poor Celestine into abdication, a very doubtful proceeding, on the theory of Papal Supremacy.

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\* St. Thomas Aquinas died on his way to this council, St. Bonaventura, during its sessions.



## IV.

Gaetani got his reward, and ascended the throne as Boniface VIII., having himself been the most active agent in bringing about his own election. Dante, in the *Inferno*, accuses him of simony. He was of noble family, learned in the law, of pure life, and a capable man of affairs. He went quickly to Rome, was well received, and had a most magnificent inauguration ; but there was a hurricane that extinguished all the lights in the church, and a riot, during which forty persons were killed. The next day, however, there was a public dinner at the Lateran, and two kings waited behind the pope's chair.

For our purpose we have little to learn from the intrigues and schemes of Boniface. His idea of the Supremacy, though very absolute, seems to have been almost entirely secular, and he devoted himself to trying to enforce it by secular means where he could. He could do little with those powerful rivals, Edward I. of England and Philip the Fair of France. Their poor subjects, clerical and lay, might well have wished themselves subjects of the pope, even of Boniface. In the matter of exactions the royal little finger was thicker than the pope's loins had ever been. Edward demanded of his clergy in one year a half of their incomes. The monasteries, which did a sort of

banking business for the people, were robbed under the name of loans. Philip debased the coinage of the realm and pocketed the difference. There would seem to have been cause for Boniface's Bull *Clericis Laicos*, by which he absolutely prohibited all taxation of the clergy without the pope's consent and the clergy were deposed if they submitted to such taxation. But when the Convocation of Canterbury, in obedience to the pope, refused to be taxed, the king outlawed them and seized their barns. The clergy of England were in a bad plight. They must disobey either the pope or the king. At last they compromised with the king, except the archbishop, who retired to a country parish and lived in poverty. But when Edward was obliged to go abroad, he relented, released the archbishop, and restored to him his barony, and their chartered privileges to the clergy. Thus, at last, the clergy of England found the pope no longer a protection against royal exactions, but fell back behind the constitution of the realm for safety. Secular feudalism had given way to royal power; papal feudalism was unable to cope with that power.

Boniface's Bull *Clericis Laicos*, and another, *Ineffabilis*, were as ineffectual in France as in England, and, by the aid of the clergy themselves, Philip triumphed over the pope to the extent of

bringing him to a practical withdrawal of his manifestoes.

After a transient burst of splendor in the year which ended the thirteenth century, when the custom of the jubilee was inaugurated, and millions of pilgrims flocked to Rome with homage and tribute to the pope, the fortunes of Boniface rapidly declined. His power over kingdoms and as arbiter between them was less and less acknowledged. Philip of France openly defied and insulted him. It was said that Boniface was aspiring to be Cæsar as well as pope, and that his power was one of words, whereas the king's was a power of deeds. And so in truth it seemed. He was a pope of many Bulls, and no power. The whole clergy of France had appealed to a General Council, and Boniface had impotently declared, "Without us no General Council can be held." The tragic circumstances of his death cast something of martyr glory over the close of his reign; but he died, having lamentably failed to maintain the Papal Supremacy as a living power received by the Catholic Church.

To sum up. We have seen the strength of the Church wasted, and the immense possibilities of usefulness that lay in the peculiar destiny of Rome thrown away, ever since the time of Gregory VII., when the papal idea began to take on

the form of a feudal sovereignty. It seems to us that if the popes had had light to proclaim themselves the successors of St. Peter as primates and not as kings—if they had said, “Rome is the centre of doctrine and of unity so long as the Holy Spirit uses her for His mouthpiece as He used St. Peter on the Day of Pentecost, but He dwells in the Church Universal, and her voice alone is final”; a way would have been found by which Churchmen at least could have fixed the bounds between the things of Cæsar and the things of God well enough for practical purposes. It seems to us that although there would of course have been a conflict, yet it would not have been a conflict that would have resulted in the captivity of Rome and the substitution of a godless learning and civilization for ancient Christianity. But our wisdom comes too late. And who can tell what might have been? Only one thing, I think, is clear. God meant Rome for better ends than she has yet accomplished. It has been said that St. Peter was never Bishop of Rome. Upon that point I am not called upon in this lecture to speak. But when even such a view is asserted the Roman controversialist may fairly reply: “If it be granted, for the sake of argument, that St. Peter never once entered Rome, yet the things which the Lord said to St. Peter, He has shown by her history apply also to Rome, and the gates

of hell, we may be sure, shall not prevail against her. At many times she has savored far more of the things that be of men than of the things that are her true glory. Often Satan has seemed to be enthroned on her seven hills. But she has always repented and been forgiven, and her pastoral commission has been given back to her. Her youth is perpetually renewed. Her power is no earthly power. Her glory is from Heaven." We, in our turn, may admit all this, and say: Yes; but we dare not take part in nor encourage her errors, History warns us against that as strongly as history can warn. If she will take again the primacy of St. Peter instead of the supremacy of St. Leo—if she has put up that sword within its sheath and will go forth again in the spirit and power of an Apostle to strengthen all the brethren, then surely we shall have reason to hope for a speedy answer to our Lord's prayer

THAT THEY ALL MAY BE ONE.



**The Babylonian Exile and the Papal  
Schism.**



BOOKS CONSULTED AND REFERRED TO.

- Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.  
Bryce's Holy Roman Empire.  
Milman's Latin Christianity.  
Bower's History of the Popes.  
Smith, Student's History of France.  
Fleury's *Histoire Ecclésiastique*.  
Continuation of Fleury, by Fabre and Goujet.  
*Histoire du Concile de Constance*. Lenfant.  
*Magnum Œcumenicum Constantienæ-Concilium*. Herman Van Der Hardt.  
Henderson's Documents of the Middle Ages.  
Encyclopædia Britannica.

## LECTURE V.

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### *THE BABYLONIAN EXILE AND THE PAPAL SCHISM.*

#### I.

##### THE PASSING GLORY.

Gentlemen of the Church Club, before whom I have the honor to speak, and all good Christian folk here gathered together, let me tell you that the year 1300 was in more senses than one the golden year of the Roman papacy. The long conflict between the imperial and papal powers had ended in the triumph of the pope. The ruin of the house of Hohenstauffen had involved the ruin of the empire. The last of the seed of Barbarossa, the gallant Conradin, had died upon the scaffold in Naples, bequeathing his wrongs, all that was left him of the vast possessions of his fathers, to his kindred of the house of Aragon.

So low was the imperial power and dignity that

the reigning emperor, Adolph of Nassau, poorest and weakest of German princes, was rated by the pope like a school-boy for becoming the hired soldier of Edward of England.

The spiritual, if not the temporal, power of the pope was acknowledged without dispute from one end of Europe to the other. A vast and highly organized priesthood looked to him as the sole source of its authority. The regular clergy waited upon his favor for promotion; the monastic orders were, for the most part, under his immediate jurisdiction, while the mendicants of S. Francis and S. Dominic preached him in every hamlet and at every cross-road of Europe. The fear of him and the dread of him was upon all the nations of the West. His curse had ruined an empire and was withering the power of kings.

The Crusades had given into his hand the sword of the flesh as well as the sword of the Spirit. He had but to call a war holy, to grant general indulgence to his soldiers, and to bless their banners, and he was followed by devoted armies that could fight and die, if they could not fast and pray. Failing in his effort to wrest the Holy Land from the infidel, the pope had turned these, his carnal weapons, against heretics and personal enemies nearer home; he preached his crusades indifferently against the Albigenses of Provence and the Colonna of Rome.

And in the year 1300 a new device was found to attract to Rome the homage and the wealth of Europe. In some mysterious way the news went abroad that whosoever should, in that last year of the old century, visit the holy city and worship at the altars of the Apostles, would receive full indulgence and pardon for all his sin. The consequence of this rumor was a mighty movement toward Rome. On the 22d of February the pope, by special "Bull," confirmed the belief of the people, and the streets of his city were thronged with pilgrims, and the basilicas of the Apostles crowded with worshippers. The wily Romans furnished cakes and ale, bread and wine, while attendants stood in every church with rakes to draw in the offerings of the faithful, which fell in a ceaseless hail of brass and copper, gold and silver, to fill the thirsty coffers of the pope. And his pride was satisfied as well as his avarice. He sat in his chair to receive the adoration of millions of his spiritual subjects. It is estimated that as many as two hundred and fifty thousand strangers were in Rome on a given day, and more than two millions visited the city during the Jubilee.

The reigning pope was Benedict Cajetan of the town of Anagni. If we may believe the history of his times, he came to his power by ways that were dark and tricks that were vain. His immediate predecessor was Peter Morrone, that her-

mit of Abruzzi, whom the cardinals had chosen as if by inspiration, after a disgraceful struggle, which had kept the see of Rome vacant for more than two years, in the hope that the sanctity of Peter would sweeten the air of the Roman court, the worldliness of which was stinking in the nostrils of Christendom. But no sooner did the hermit take his name of Celestine V. and enter upon his high and holy office, than he found that the papacy had passed far out of the regions of piety into that of practical politics, and a saint was no more at home in the chair of S. Peter than than he would be in the City Hall of New York to-day. Frightened by his vast responsibilities, instigated by the advice, if not hurried on by the wiles of Cajetan, Celestine resigned the papacy after a reign of six months. This resignation was made in Naples, where the pope was then residing, and was accepted by the College of Cardinals, who, after a negotiation lasting for ten days, entered into conclave, and, without further delay, elected the ablest of their number, Benedict Cajetan, Cardinal Presbyter of S. Martin, to the vacant see.

In a few days the newly elected pontiff was crowned, assuming the name of Boniface VIII., and hurried away to Rome. He carried in his train Charles, King of Naples, and Charles Martel, his son, King of Hungary. As the pope neared the city, the people came forth to meet



him with banners and with music, and his entrance was like an ancient triumph. The two kings led his horse by the bridle and afterward waited on him at table.

The pope was then at the summit of earthly greatness. He was by far the most considerable personage in Europe, if not in the world; his only rival, the emperor, he had reduced to insignificance, while the kings of the West had not yet tried their strength against him. But his was not the glory of the morning, it was the passing glory of the evening, the splendor of a sun that was going down.

When Boniface entered upon his office he found three centres of disturbance: In Rome the Colonna stood aloof, the Sicilians were in rebellion, and the King of France was sullen.

From the eleventh century the Colonna had been the strongest and wealthiest of Roman families. The Orsini were its only rivals in riches and in influence: it had its strongholds within and without the city; it allied itself by marriage to royal and imperial blood; it gave popes and cardinals to the Church. At the election of Boniface two cardinals of the family, James, and Peter the nephew of James, had been the last to give their consent; they had even hinted that the election itself might be illegal. The resignation of Celestine was without precedent in the history

of the papacy. It was whispered in the conclave and soon came to be the talk of the street that a pope could not resign. Having once clothed himself with the awful power of the vicar of Christ, he could no more resign that power than God Himself could resign His justice and His mercy. And the true pope was not in Rome but in Abruzzi.

These evil reports Boniface traced or thought he traced, to the lips of the Colonna. He summoned them to his council. They refused to obey, openly maintaining that he was no true pope ; asserting that Celestine was pope and only on the death of Celestine could his successor be elected. The pope answered their defiance by degradation and excommunication ; he deprived the cardinals of their hats and cut off the whole Colonna family from the communion of the Church. The Colonna offered to submit to the pope, but he would not receive their submission, except they would surrender all their strongholds both within and without the city and throw themselves upon his mercy. This, naturally, they refused to do, and Boniface preached a crusade against them, he tore down their houses, stormed their castles, destroyed their chief city, Prenestre, and drove the family to take refuge with the King of France. One member of the family, Sciarra Colonna, was taken captive by the Saracens and he concealed his identity lest they should deliver him to Boniface, as he preferred the galleys of the infidel to the dungeons of



the true believer. He finally escaped into France, from whence he returned to take vengeance on the persecutor of his family. The pope had made a fatal mistake, he had angered but not destroyed these doubters of his title.

Here is not the place to unravel the interesting and intricate history of Sicily. Its exposed position has always made it an easy conquest. It had seen Carthaginian, Greek, Roman and Saracenic masters. In the tenth century, the Norman added it to the number of his conquests and founded there one of his numerous kingdoms. Early in the thirteenth century the line of Norman kings ended in Constance, wife of the Emperor Henry V., son of Barbarossa. Henry claimed the Island of Sicily, together with the kingdom of Naples, in the right of his wife, and what Henry claimed he conquered. He left the kingdoms of Naples and of Sicily to his wonderful son, Frederick II., who made this home of his mother his home, and ruled Germany and the empire from the shores of the Mediterranean.

It was in their long contest with Frederick that the popes claimed the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily as a fief of the papacy and granted them first to Richard of Cornwall, and afterwards to Charles of Anjou and Provence. After the death of Frederick, while his son Conrad was in Germany, striving to secure the empire, and Manfred,

natural son of Frederick, had usurped and was reigning over Naples and Sicily, Charles invaded the kingdom, Manfred was defeated and slain, and the power of the French established both on the main land and in the island. But in Sicily that power was of short duration. The extreme and brutal tyranny of the French stirred the southern blood to madness. An insult to a lady of Palermo was the immediate occasion of that terrible uprising known as the Sicilian Vespers, which left not a Frenchman alive on the island, whom the Sicilians could find and kill. Conrad V., son of Frederick II., was dead. His son, the little Conrad, perished in his gallant effort to regain the kingdom of his fathers and there was no heir to the great house of Hohenstauffen, except Constance, daughter of Manfred, who was married to Peter of Aragon. To Aragon the Sicilians turned for help and offered their crown to Peter, the husband of Constance. He accepted it and granted it in his turn to his brother James, with a reversion in favor of his younger brother Frederick. This Frederick of Aragon was the real ruler of Sicily until his death. James soon succeeded his brother Peter on the throne of Aragon and left Frederick to govern Sicily.

When Boniface became pope he succeeded in making peace between James of Aragon and Charles of Naples, one of the conditions of the

peace being that James should cede his rights in Sicily to Charles. But in making this peace the pope reckoned without Frederick and the Sicilians. The Sicilians he treated as his vassals, to be granted to whom he would, and Frederick he tried to beguile by offering him, with the hand of the titular Empress of Constantinople, the empire of the East. But Frederick thought a kingdom in the hand worth an empire in the bush, and held fast to his tight little island, while the Sicilians would rather die than admit the French again to their homes.

Frederick defied the pope and the two kings, though one was his brother. His great Admiral Roger Loria defeated the combined papal and Neapolitan fleets and drove them from the sea. And when Loria was seduced from his allegiance by the pope, Frederick, though no longer invincible at sea, was unconquerable on land. The pope thundered out against him every curse to be found in the arsenal of Rome, but Frederick let him curse, and went on beating Charles of Naples just the same. The pope called Charles of Valois to aid his feeble kinsman of Naples, but this Frenchman did nothing but devastate Italy, and increase the hatred that was gathering about the head of Boniface, and went home leaving Frederick in secure possession of Sicily.

I have dwelt upon the story of Sicily because

in that story is the secret of the papal downfall. In their long effort to wrest Naples and Sicily from the Hohenstauffen, the popes had wasted their spiritual and temporal strength. They delivered themselves from the fear of one master, only to find themselves given over, bound hand and foot, into the keeping of another.

Since the days of Clovis France had been the eldest son of the Church—Clovis had defeated the Arian Visigoth and made Western Europe Catholic. In later days the pope transferred the crown of the Franks from the feeble successors of Clovis to the head of Pepin the Short. And the grateful Pepin freed Rome and the popes from the fear of the Greek and the Lombard. On Christmas Day in the year 800, Charlemagne, son of Pepin, received from the pope the imperial crown and title. In him the pope revived the Roman name, hoping to revive the Roman power, and so provide a great defender for the Holy See. But the prince was German, and the power was German, and the popes raised up for themselves not a servant, but a master. Forever after the emperor is not the friend, but the hated rival of the pope.

In the break-up of the Frankish empire, which resulted in the foundation of the Kingdom of France, that kingdom was ever the favorite of Rome. In their long and bitter struggle with the



empire, it was to France that the popes looked for succor, and that aid was paid for by many special grants and dispensations.

But now that the empire no longer threatened his autocracy, the pope determined to humble this growing power in the West, which presuming on his favor had not consulted his dignity.

The reigning King of France was Philip IV., known to history as Philip the Fair. This king was one of those men whose lives strike the midnight hour that marks the beginning of a new day. In his time and under his hand, three institutions which had ruled the life and filled the heart of Christian Europe for three hundred years and more fell into ruin.

The stars in their courses fought with Philip in his work of destruction. Victory and defeat alike helped him off with the old and on with the new. His armies met with a terrible disaster under the walls of Courtrai and more than two-thirds of the nobility of France perished on that field of spurs. But the death of the nobility was the life of the king. The wars with England and with Flanders did for France what the Wars of the Roses did for England. In those wars the great families were swept away, and with them that institution which was the source of their power and which they, in turn, upheld by their strength. That graded system which came in

with the Goth and the Frank, in which the king was only a chief of chieftains, his power resting on that of the great nobles next below him, did not survive the fatalities of the fatal fourteenth century. In England, France and Spain, the king and the people absorbed the power of the nobles ; in Italy and Germany the nobles and the cities seized upon the power of the king. After Courtrai, the King of France could no longer rest upon the great feudal lords, for the heads of their houses were for the most part little boys and girls. It was no longer a high-spirited and reluctant nobility whom the king led to the battle, it was a hired and professional soldiery. From that day to this, the battles of Europe, with rare exceptions, have not been fought with love and loyalty, but with muscle and money. Philip found the feudal system old and weak, he left it a ruin.

Chivalry was in his day already a matter for sport. The knight errant was the favorite butt of the court fool. What little life was left in that one time beautiful institution found shelter in the great lay orders of the Knights of the Temple and the Knights of the Hospital of S. John. But these orders were themselves falling into dissolution ; they were no longer fulfilling the purpose of their creation. The Turk was on the Bosphorus, while the Knights of the Temple were dancing with the

maidens of Provence, and the Knights of the Hospital playing with the ladies of Malta. They were no longer riding, lance at rest, over the plains of Syria, seeking the paynim on the field of glory, or threading the defiles of Lebanon, guiding the pilgrim to the sepulchre of Christ; they exhausted their bravery in the tournament, and their only pilgrims were the pilgrims of love. It is not necessary nor possible to believe the awful charges which were brought against the Templars by the king. One charge was sufficient. They were rich and the king was poor, and Philip was not at all nice in his ways of getting money: he would debase the coin, draw the teeth of a Jew, or burn a Templar, so only he might have the money to carry on his wars. And because the Templars were false to their ideal they fell an easy prey to the rapacious tyranny of the king. The destruction of the order of the Temple was the last of chivalry. It perished in the ashes of Molay.

But it was in the order of Providence that Philip should fight a fiercer battle and win a more far-reaching victory. He was the avenger of emperors and kings upon popes and priests.

It was a question of money that led to the quarrel between Philip and Boniface which ended in the captivity of the papacy. Philip's empty treasury was ever crying for more, and he looked with envious eyes upon the vast possessions of the Church.



and grieved his heart over the stream of gold and silver that flowed from France to Rome. After taxing everything else he determined to tax the Church, and demanded of the clergy a fiftieth of their revenues. This act of the king the pope considered to be an invasion of his rights, and in his wrath he issued his "Bull" *Clericis Laicos*, in which he asserted the broad principle that no temporal ruler had any right to impose any tax upon the property of the Church, and he excommunicated every prince or State that should levy such a tax, and every ecclesiastic who should presume to pay it without the permission of the pope. This "Bull" was couched in language insulting to the laity in general and to the King of France in particular. The king answered the papal "Bull" with a decree no less peremptory, forbidding the export from his kingdom of gold and silver coin and military stores without the king's consent. This cut off a chief source of papal revenue, and the pope was forced to temporize. Philip could get along more easily without the pope's communion than he without Philip's gold. The pope hastened to explain that he did not mean to forbid the payment of feudal imposts or voluntary donations of the clergy, or taxes imposed with the pope's consent. He still held that the pope had exclusive jurisdiction over all Church men and Church property, and declared Philip excommu-

icate for intruding into that jurisdiction. Philip answered with force, that if he were to fight the battles and defend the property of the Church, the Church must in all justice pay part of the expense. And there the quarrel rested. Philip had his money and the pope did not enforce his excommunication, and there was truce between France and Rome. But it was only that the combatants might breath themselves for the death-struggle. Between these there was an irrepressible conflict. Philip was set with all the force of his arrogant will upon being sole master in France, while Boniface with fiercer will was determined to be master of France, Philip and all the world.

In the year 1300, when pilgrims from every land did him homage, the heart of Boniface was filled with that desire for universal dominion which makes men mad. If he was the vicar of God on earth, he *was* the vicar of God, with divine right to rule over both the bodies and the souls of men, and he could not bear that the eldest son of the Church should dispute his right to dominion, and he was minded to punish that son and make him obedient to his spiritual father.

But Philip was in no filial nor compliant mood. He demanded homage of the Vicompt of Narbonne and the Bishop of Magelounne, both liegemen of the pope, and when they refused he cast them into prison. Enraged at this, Boniface sent

his legate, the Bishop of Pamiers, to rebuke the king for his rebellious conduct. The Bishop was insolent and Philip placed him under arrest and sent him to keep company with Narbonne and Magelounne. The pope then issued his "Bull" *Ausculta Fili*, upbraiding Philip in the stern tones of a master. This "Bull" Philip burned amidst the applause of his people in the streets of Paris.

In his contest with the pope the king was forced to appeal to the people. For the first time he assembled the States General, calling representatives of the common people—men of the third estate—to sit with the nobles in the council of the king. There were three new-born forces fighting with and for Philip that Boniface knew not of. They were the spirit of nationalism, the power of secular learning and the might of worldly wealth. Philip set the nation against the Church; the lawyer against the clergy; the merchant against the monk; and under his leadership these gained a victory which has given them the dominion of the world even to this day.

The emperors were feeble in the presence of the pope because they had no firm foundation to rest upon. Their empire was an idea rather than a fact; their dominion in the air rather than upon the earth. They were titular lords over many nations and hardly masters of one. They could

not appeal to love of home and country, because they themselves had no home nor country. The Swabian emperor was a stranger in his own capital city of Rome. But not so the King of France; he was a Frenchman who ruled over Frenchmen and he could cry to them in their own tongue, Shall we the people of France be subject to an Italian priest? And with one consent the people answered, No—we will be ruled by our own king and by our own laws. The nation became conscious of itself in this quarrel with Boniface.

The very clergy yielded to the new spirit that was abroad in the earth. They had to yield because virtue had gone out of them. They were no longer what they had been. Once they were the only men of learning in the world; their lips kept knowledge and the people came to them for wisdom. They had created and then interpreted that vast volume of canon law by which the popes ruled in the earth. But in the days of Philip they were opposed by a body of men as learned and far more eager than themselves. The University of Bologna had sent into every nation the students and the advocates of the civil law. These found in the institutes and pandects of Justinian every warrant for the king as the head of the State and no warrant for the pope's temporal authority. In the days of Justinian the pope had nothing to do with the taxes. And the lawyers, being the new

men, were stronger and fiercer than the clergy and beat them in their own chosen field.

And then this king had with him the merchants, the men of wealth. Before the crusades there had been little or no wealth in Western and Northern Europe. There had been a rude plenty to eat and drink, but no luxuries or refinements of life. But the crusades opened the East to the West, and silks and spices came from the Levant to Venice and from thence were sold to the nations of the North. And then the cities which were the home of the merchant began to grow stronger than the castle of the noble and the convent of the monk, and the purse of the merchant to outweigh the sword of the knight and the missal of the priest ; and the merchant in this fight was with the king.

Ignorant of the new and mighty forces arrayed against him, Boniface chose this moment to make such claims for himself and for his office as had never been made in the earth. To settle at once and forever the unlimited power of the pope over all men both in things spiritual and things temporal, he issued his famous bull *Unam Sanctam Ecclesiam*. In this bull he claims for himself and for his office absolute dominion over the lives and thoughts of men. He was nothing else than God on earth ; whom he would he set up and whom he would he cast down. He commanded the two

swords, the sword of the flesh as well as the sword of the spirit. The one he wielded directly; the other indirectly, the one by his own hand, the other by the hand of princes subject to his will.

The bull *Unam Sanctam* is to the papacy what Pickett's charge at Gettysburg was to the Southern Confederacy; the point of farthest advance, the place of overwhelming defeat and the beginning of a sure decline.

Boniface and his immediate predecessors were all or nearly all that he claimed them to be. Peoples stood in awe of their word; emperors did penance before them barefooted in the snow, and kings yielded to them their crowns. But the days of Cajetan were not as the days of Hildebrand, as Boniface found to his cost. Having published the bull *Unam Sanctam* the pope retired to Anagni that he might prepare and fulminate against the King of France the last terrors of the Church; the excommunication, the interdict and the crusade.

News of these his hostile intentions reached France, and two of the king's partisans, Sciarra Colonna and William of Nogaret, without waiting for instructions from Philip, hurried over the Alps and down through Italy with three hundred horse at their back, and before the people of Anagni knew what was going on had taken the city and seized the person of the pope. Boniface did not

quail before them. Dressed in his full pontificals, he received them with an angry dignity that became his office and his character. But his enemies hated the man too deeply to be awed by the pope. They treated him with great violence. Nogaret demanded a full release for the king from all censures of the Church, which, when the pope refused, it is said that Sciarra Colonna smote him in the face. For three days Anagni was given over to violence, and the pope was a prisoner in his own house. On the third day the people rose up and drove the invaders from the city and delivered the pope. Boniface went immediately to Rome; meditating vengeance, but only to die in a rage; and with him died forever the political and spiritual supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. From that day to this the pope has been a disturbing, but never a controlling, power in the political life of Europe. Little by little his dominion has been taken away, until he is nothing else than a private citizen of the kingdom of Italy, and his spiritual supremacy is denied and rejected by the most powerful and intelligent of his former subjects.

## II.

### THE GILDED SHAME.

The death of Boniface left the papacy in a state of prostration. The poor pope learned too late



the truth of the words of Peter Flotte, one of Philip's lawyers, who said to him : " Your sword, Holy Father, is only verbal, while my master's is real." The verbal sword of the pope had once been sharper than the steel blade of the emperor, but frequent and reckless use had blunted its edge ; men were no longer afraid of his curses, seeing that so many of those curses came home to roost. Men found that they could eat and drink and sleep as well without as with the pope's benediction, and so they went about their business regardless of his pleasure or displeasure. His power once defied was gone. There was no fire from heaven to burn up his enemies on every side. He fell into the fatal error of claiming divine authority, without divine power to sustain it. The papal theory is the most deadly heresy that has ever afflicted the Christian Church. It confounded the Church and the world and confused the functions of Christ and Cæsar. The popes tried in the name of Christ to make His kingdom a kingdom of this world, but His word was against them, and they failed abjectly.

Ten days after the death of Boniface the frightened cardinals got together and elected Nicholas Boccasini, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, to the vacant see.

Nicholas assumed the name of Benedict XI., which was the Christian name of Boniface; the

new pope thus declaring his purpose of sustaining the policy and avenging the wrongs of his predecessor.

All the princes wrote to congratulate the pope upon his promotion, none more cordially than Philip; and it seemed as if there might be peace between the pope and the king. The pope quietly retired from the advanced position of Boniface; he did not reaffirm the bull *Unam Sanctam*, and he did release Philip from the censure of the Church. But with this the king was not satisfied. He wanted not pardon but justification. To justify himself he must condemn Boniface. If Cajetan were a good pope, exercising lawful authority, then Philip had been guilty of a great crime, he had outraged and slain the Lord's anointed.

Philip pressed the pope for the condemnation of Boniface.

Not only did the pope refuse this, but he proceeded to anathematize in the strongest language known to spiritual censure all who were in any way concerned in the affair of Anagni. This placed Philip again under condemnation, and another bitter war would have followed had Benedict lived. But this mild man was not equal to the task of reconstituting the papacy. It was too much for his physical strength. He died after a pontificate of eight months.

The first terror of Anagni having passed away,

the cardinals gave free play to their political passions in the election of his successor. The college was equally divided between the French and Roman interest, and for ten months no election was possible. The student of papal history must remark with curiosity these vacancies in the papal office and wonder how the body survived so long without its head. After this delay an agreement was made by the contending parties, looking to a close of the contest. It was decided that the Roman party should choose the names of three Churchmen from beyond the Alps, and for one of these the French party would vote and so put an end to the scandal of a prolonged vacancy.

Among the names chosen was that of Bernard de Goth, Archbishop of Bordeaux, a creature of Boniface, and a sworn enemy of Philip. But the Frenchmen knew their man. They sent a secret message, post haste to Philip, and Philip sent word to Bernard to meet him for a private interview in an abbey, in a wood near S. John De Angelli. Then Philip made known to the astonished archbishop that he had it in his power to make him pope. But before he could do this he must be assured of the loyalty and fidelity of the man who was now his subject, but who might upon promotion deem himself his master. The archbishop made every protestation of utter devotion to the person and interests of the king, and

these two made a compact. Philip would use his interest and secure the election of Bernard, on condition: First, that Bernard, when pope, should release Philip from all censures which he had incurred in his dispute with Boniface; second, that he should restore to his favor all who had in any way been concerned in the proceedings against that pope; third, that he should condemn the memory of Boniface; fourth, that he should restore the Colonna to their dignities, and promote to the college of cardinals such persons as the king should name; fifth, that he should give to the king a tenth of the revenues of the Church for five years. A sixth condition was kept secret to be demanded of the pope at the pleasure of the king. This agreement made the king send his messenger with all speed back to Rome, and upon his arrival Bernard de Goth, Archbishop of Bordeaux, was chosen pope, and so became the successor of S. Peter and the vicar of Christ on earth.

The new pope summoned the cardinals to cross the Alps and meet him in Lyons, where he was crowned, taking the name of Clement V. Clement made haste to carry out his contract with the king: he released Philip from all the censures of the Church; he granted him a tenth of the Church's revenue; he restored to papal favor all engaged in the outrages at Anagni, ex-

cept Sciarra Colonna and William of Nogaret, upon whom he laid a slight penance ; but he would not condemn the memory of Boniface, and his whole pontificate was spent in a miserable struggle to avoid that fatal blow to the pretensions and power of the papacy.

To escape from the immediate jurisdiction of Philip, Clement transferred the papal residence from Lyons to Avignon. The poor priest had in his heart that love for France which is the strongest passion with every Frenchman, and he had also that love of ease and pleasure which is so natural to the Gascon. He could not bear to exile himself from France, still less could he bear the turbulence of Rome. So he chose for the spiritual capital of Christendom the softest and loveliest spot in the world.

Just outside the boundaries of France, in the country of Provence, which was under the rule of Charles of Naples, the pope found his Zoar, his little city of refuge. Avignon lay upon the left bank of the Rhone, in the midst of a large and fruitful plain. Except for the bitter winds that sometimes come to it, it was, and is, an earthly paradise ; there the skies are clear and the air is soft. Like Israel's promised land, it was a land of oil and wine, a land flowing with milk and honey. There Roman civilization came earliest and stayed latest. The Roman called it by

way of excellence the Province, fairest and best of imperial possessions. There the people loved peace rather than war; the shelter of the vine and the olive better than the blaze of the sun of glory. They spoke that first born of modern tongues, the limpid language *de Oc*. There love was the great business of life; the men were gallant, the women beautiful; their bards were troubadours, their poetry, songs, and their prose, romance. The pleasure-loving Gascon, Bernard of Bordeaux, now vicar of Christ, and pope Clement V., looked down on this city of the plain, as Lot of old looked down on Sodom and Gomorrah, and behold! all the plain of the Rhone, like the plain of Jordan, "was well watered everywhere before the Lord, even as the garden of the Lord, as the land of Egypt, as thou comest unto Zoar." Here in the midst of earthly beauty and earthly riches the pope fixed the papal residence, and here the *vis inertia* of human nature kept it for two and seventy years.

Avignon, as the residence of the pope, became a city of first importance. It was enriched by the presence and wealth of a multitude of strangers. Every ecclesiastic seeking promotion came to Avignon to press his claims. The fairest courtesans of Europe sought the city as the most favored market for their charms; skilled workmen came from every land, to build palaces for the

cardinals, and that vast and gloomy pile covering an acre and a half of ground, which still stands a monument to the exile of the popes. Surely, if business activity and wealth and pleasure can make a city blessed, then blessed was Avignon.

It is not my purpose to enter in detail into the history of the popes in exile. That they were in exile is enough, and it is all the worse that their exile was self-chosen.

During the period of papal residence in Avignon, the French influence was supreme. The pope was a stick in the hand of France. Himself a Frenchman, the pope lent himself easily to French interests. Clement, to his eternal shame, surrendered the Templars to the rapacity and cruelty of Philip the Fair. He did, indeed, avoid the last degradation, the condemnation of Boniface ; but he escaped it only by the skin of his teeth. Philip, worn out and nigh unto death, dropped the persecution.

When Clement died, which he did after a reign of nearly nine years, there was an interregnum of more than two years. There was now no great question dividing the conclave : it was a mere matter of spoils that delayed the election. At last the cardinals were driven together in Carpentras, by the sword of Philip of Orleans, and compelled to a choice. They chose James of



Cahors, Cardinal D'Eusa, Bishop of Porto. This man had vowed that if elected he would never mount horse until he set out for Rome ; and he did not. After his coronation, when he took the name of John XXII., he walked from his house in Carpentras to the river, took a boat and sailed down to Avignon, walked from the shore to the palace, and never left it during the eighteen years of his pontificate.

This John was a most delightful pope ; his theory of the papacy was so simple : it was to get money and to damn the emperor. Now, however much the popes needed money, the emperors did not need damning in the least. Poor Louis of Bavaria had all he could do to keep his crown on his head, and it was a poor crown at that ; the empire was a name and the emperor a show. Every little German princelet could insult him at pleasure. Yet it was the custom of the popes to curse the same. So John, not knowing what else to do, went on cursing till he died. But the contest between the pope and the emperor had degenerated from a tragedy into a farce, and as a farce we must leave it.

But this pope did not altogether lack inventiveness. He was the author of a most ingenious system of taxation, which one is fain to recommend to our distracted legislators in Washington. John XXII. devised the system of the annates.

Whenever he presented any ecclesiastic to a benefice, he demanded the first year's income of that benefice for the uses of the Holy See, and when there was a vacancy he filled it from the next richest, and so through all Christendom. The result of this was that he enriched his relations beyond the dreams of avarice, and left sixty millions sterling in the papal treasury. Poor old John dabbled in theology and made a mess of it. He denied the vision of God to the canonized saints. His doctrine was confuted by divines and condemned by the University of Paris, and the pope commanded to retract it by the King of France. In the midst of this contest the pope died, and by accident the cardinals elected one of the best of popes to succeed him. They threw votes on one ballot to James Fournier, the least conspicuous member of the college, and so by chance elected him. He took the name of Benedict XII., and during his episcopate of ten years did all he could to reform the Church. But the abuses were too much for one old man, and he left the Church as he found it.

After him came Peter Roger, Clement VI., the Limousian noble, of whom it is written that he was free with the company of women, a gentleman of wealth, of leisure and magnificence.

It was during his pontificate that Rienzi ran his brief career as Tribune of Rome. Deprived of

the presence of the pope, which alone gave it power and dignity, Rome was as Jerusalem in the days of her desolation. None came to her solemn feasts ; her churches were deserted ; her streets were the battleground of contending factions ; the nobles spat in the faces of the people, and spurned them with their feet.

As in the ninth century, the pope had conjured up a phantom empire to cure the evils of his day, so now Rienzi called from the vasty deep the ghost of the Republic. And wonder of wonders ! it came at his call, with its Tribune and its lictors, its fasces and its curule chair. But, like a conjurer's trick, it deceived for a moment. and then went out in a red fire of blood.

In the reign of Clement VI. Petrarch made his second visit to Avignon, and has left us a scathing account of its licentiousness and corruption.

After Clement VI. came Stephen Aubert, Innocent VI., a good old man, who, in his reign of ten years, did what he could to curb the growing evils of the Church.

The absence of the popes from Rome was now a scandal that threatened the papacy itself. But the cardinals were native and to the manner born. Avignon was their home and they hated to think of a change. After the death of Innocent, the college elected William Grimoardi Abbot of the Monastery of S. Victor, in Mar-

seilles. He had said he would die happy, could he but see the pope restored to Rome. The cardinals did not know this when they elected him, else had he not been chosen.

And the new pope was as good as his word. Urban V., for so he called himself, did try to restore the residence of the popes to Rome. He was crowned at Avignon. But after a while, in the midst of weeping cardinals, he set out for Italy, sailing from Marseilles. He came to Corneto, from where he went to Viterbo, which he made his temporary residence, and where he received the submission of Rome. But the change was too much for the old man. Homesickness overcame him, and he returned to Avignon to die.

To his successor, Peter Roger, the younger Gregory XI., belongs the honor of the permanent restoration of the papacy to Rome.

Nephew of Clement VI., cardinal at eighteen, a close student, of severe life, he would not endure the looseness of the clergy. To an idle bishop in Avignon he said, "Why are you not in your diocese?" The pert answer was, "Why are you not in yours?" The answer smote him in the face, and he at once decided to go where he belonged, to sit in his seat, which was the seat of St. Peter and St. Paul. Resisting the pressure that was brought upon him by the cardinals and the

court of France, he went sadly back to desolated Rome. He, too, sickened of that turbulent city, and was ready to forsake it and return to Avignon, but death stepped in and prevented his desertion. He died in Rome in the 9th year of his pontificate, the 47th of his age and in the 72d year of the captivity.

### III.

#### THE TORN GARMENT.

While Gregory was on his death-bed the banner-bearers of the city came to the cardinals and told them that it was the will of the people that they should elect a Roman or an Italian pope. The cardinals answered that such things were not spoken of out of conclave, and they would at the proper time choose a pope after their own conscience and for the good of the whole Church. The banner-bearers told them that their lives were in danger unless they complied with the wishes of the people. The cardinals again answered that an election under duress would be null and void, and one so chosen be an usurper and no true pope. When Gregory died, the magistrates came again seeking some assurance from the cardinals that they would elect a Roman to the Roman See. But the cardinals answered them

after the former manner; they would elect whom they would elect.

Then the magistrates determined to force an election; they guarded the gates of the city; expelled the nobles and all partisans of the cardinals; filled the streets with peasants and mechanics, who hooted the cardinals and followed them into the very conclave itself, crying "a Roman pope or death." All day the crowds surged about the place of the conclave, and all night a frightful cry went up of *Romano lo Volemo lo papa. Romano lo Volemo*. The banner-bearers sent word into the conclave that they could not restrain the people much longer; the cardinals must elect a Roman or Italian pope or die.

In their consternation the cardinals cast their eyes hastily upon Bartholomew Pignano, Archbishop of Bari, a man of ability, who was well learned in the canon law, and so would know the invalidity of his election. The cardinals did not know that Pignano was a secret instigator of the riot with a view to his own election. In fright and fear they gave their votes to him, and he was chosen pope. This fact was proclaimed from a window of the palace where the conclave was assembled, and the people with a great shout ran to build fires and to ring bells.

The next day Pignano was enthroned and as-

sumed the name of Urban VI. Knowing the irregularity of his election, he began at once to suspect the cardinals of an intention to declare that election illegal. So he watched them with suspicious closeness, and treated them with great rigor. He developed at once a most violent and tyrannical temper.

So long as they were in Rome the Cardinals did not dare to question Urban's title. But twelve of them escaped to Anagni, and there made oath before the Chamberlain of the Holy See that the election of Urban was forced and not free. They communicated this fact to the cardinals which were at Avignon, and warned all Christendom of the illegality of the election.

They were joined by the cardinals at Avignon, and enticed away the only two cardinals who were true to Urban by promising secretly to elect each of them pope, and proceeded with great formality to declare the nullity of their former action and to call upon Urban to give up an office and a title which were not rightly his. Urban raged against them like a wounded bear. He sent soldiers to take them and bring them in chains to Rome. The cardinals fled from Avignon to Fondi in the kingdom of Naples, and there they elected Robert of Geneva, one of their own number, to the papacy.

And so began the great schism, which lasted



from the year 1378 to the year 1414. During all these six and thirty years there were two popes in western Christendom, each with his own obedience, each with his bitter partisans. The garment of the Church's unity was torn to shreds, and these contending priests were shaking the rags in each other's faces. With Urban went the better part of Italy, England, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Hungary and Bohemia. With Robert of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII., went France and Savoy, Naples and afterwards Spain. After a short sojourn in Naples, Clement retired to Avignon, and the Rhone and the Tiber each claimed the honor of washing the Apostle's feet. It was a time of great confusion; an ecclesiastical game of thimble-rig; St. Peter was under somebody's hat, but under whose, nobody could tell.

The question of the rightful title to the papacy has not been settled to this day. Saints differed from saints and doctors from doctors. The Councils of Pisa and of Constance could not decide the perplexing question. Roman writers tell us that while it is necessary to salvation to believe that there is an infallible head of the Church on earth, it is not necessary to know who that head is. So to this day we do not know which was the voice from heaven, the voice of Urban who condemned

Clement, or the voice of Clement who condemned Urban.

As long as these two lived the war went merrily on, and the papacy sank lower and lower in the estimation of mankind. Clement and Urban each promoted cardinals. So now it was pope against pope and college against college. With Urban there was no thought of compromise. His reign was one of violence, and it was wittily said that he should have called himself Turbanus instead of Urbanus. When Urban died men hoped for the healing of the schism. It was a scandal that was threatening the whole existing order. The popes were in such danger as they had never been before. The people were beginning to laugh at them, and a laugh is the end of all pretension. The danger of the pope was the danger of the hierarchy. So the priesthood took alarm and began to work for the peace of the Church.

The princes and the prelates besought the cardinals of Urban not to enter into a new election. But, fearing for their cardinalate, they would not listen. First taking an oath that bound whosoever was elected to resign as soon as the pope at Avignon should resign, they chose Peter Thomacelli, Boniface IX., in the room of Urban; this process was repeated upon the election of Innocent VII., and again swearing on holy Gospel,

they chose Angelus Corarius, who assumed the name of Gregory XII.

In Avignon, where Clement died, his cardinals taking the same oath and making the same protestations, as if to bring the papacy into utter contempt, proceeded to elect the ridiculous and impossible Peter De Luna to the vacant see, and he called himself Benedict XIII. Christendom now saw two old men, each claiming to be vicar of Christ on earth : each wagging beard at other like old witches in a rage, and the sight was not edifying.

Churchmen in every part of the Catholic world began to bestir themselves. The University of Paris under the lead of Peter d'Ailly and John Gerson called for a council to reform the Church in its head and members. All Europe responded to the call. Every effort was made to have both popes resign as the easiest way of ending the schism. They both swore that this was the very thing they wanted to do, but they backed and filled and did nothing.

At last the patience of their very partisans was worn out. France withdrew from the obedience of Benedict and the king made him a prisoner in his palace. He excommunicated the king and all the king's men and escaped into Spain.

The majority of his cardinals forsook him, and joining with a majority of the cardinals of

Gregory called a council to end the schism. This council met in Pisa, in the year 1409. It was largely attended by prelates of every degree. It summoned both claimants to the papacy to appear for judgment, that the council might decide between them. On their failing to do so, the council excommunicated and degraded both Benedict and Gregory, and commanded the cardinals to elect a new pope. This they did, choosing Peter Candia, a mild Muscovite friar, of feeble health and great age, who took the name of Alexander V. After his election the council dispersed and the schism was not healed. Spain was still true to Benedict and parts of Italy to Gregory. So the Council of Pisa did nothing but make matters worse. After it, there were three popes instead of two.

And now comes upon the stage a character who sums up in himself all the wretchedness of this wretched period. At the Council of Pisa none was more busy, none made himself more agreeable than Balthazar Cossa, Cardinal Legate of Bologna. He looked after everybody's welfare; arranged for all meetings and brought about the election of good old Peter Candia. And he was chief adviser to Alexander during his pontificate. For his advantage, Alexander died in ten months and eight days from the day of his coronation. Then Cardinal Cossa, being in his

own city of Bologna, terrorized the cardinals and compelled his own election. He assumed the name of John XXIII. the most infamous name in the long line of popes.

His character was a rare combination of astuteness, licentiousness and vulgarity. He was a great blotch of the scum which humanity always throws to the surface when it boils. He was like the Tweeds and Fisks of our own political cauldron. Unless, he has been greatly belied, his life was stained by every vice and crime known to man. His lust was comprehensive, including every age and condition. He did not stop at murder to secure his ends. Simony was a white spot on his reputation. Such was the man in whom the miserable papacy of the miserable fourteenth century ended.

The Council of Pisa had directed that another council should assemble in three years, to take up the work of reforming the Church in its head and members. The continuance of the schism and the character of John made that council an imperative necessity.

The Emperor Sigismund demanded of John that he should summon the council. After long hesitation the pope consented, on the condition that the council should be called in his name and acknowledge his title. The emperor insisted on joining his name to that of the pope and having

the choice of the place of meeting. To these terms the pope at last agreed, and a decree went forth calling a council to meet in the city of Constance, in the fall of 1414. Meantime the mind of the Church was prepared for radical action. Gerson wrote pamphlet after pamphlet, asserting the right of a council to judge and depose a pope. He stood on old Catholic ground. The Church was the head of the pope, not the pope the head of the Church. He was servant not master.

And now the city of Constance was the centre of interest to Christendom. The little town was all astir. Servants of the great prelates and princes came to make ready for their masters, every inn was occupied and every house was an inn. And after the servants came the masters, the emperor and the princes, the pope and the cardinals, the archbishops, bishops, and priests, and a host of doctors and divines. It was the largest and most dignified council that had met in the Church for centuries.

The great assembly was opened with all splendor and solemnity by the pope, but his heart misgave him as he looked over the vast assembly. He knew that he was in the power of the council, and the council was there to judge him.

To protect itself from being overborne by a host of Italian prelates in the interest of the pope, the council decided to vote by nations—Italy, France.

Germany and England, and afterward Spain, each having one vote, and so once more nationalism triumphed over universalism; and the national churches of the next century cast their shadows before. The first business of the council was the healing of the schism. John XXIII. was pope in possession, should the council judge his claim. The council did not judge his claim; but it did judge his character, and condemn him as unfit to reign.

Nearly one hundred charges were brought against him. Into many of these, such as incest, rape and murder, the council refused to enter, as their discussion would but scandalize the more an already scandalized Christendom. The council decided to judge him on the ecclesiastical charges of heresy and simony. Every effort was made to compel the pope to cede the papacy.

This the pope at first consented to do. But he repented of his good resolution, escaped in the disguise of a groom to Schaffhausen, a stronghold of his friend Duke Albert of Austria, and from there he dissolved the council. But the council stood firm. It made its great declaration of rights in these memorable words: "*That the present council, lawfully assembled in the city of Constance, and representing the whole Church Militant, holds its power immediately from Jesus Christ, and all persons, of whatever state or dignity (the papal not excepted), are bound to obey it, in what con-*



*cerns the faith, the extirpation of the schism and the reformation of the Church in its head and members."* It went on with the trial of the pope, and condemned and deposed him.

Albert of Austria surrendered him to Sigismund, and Sigismund gave him up to the council. He was thrown into a dungeon; his spirit broken; he submitted to the council; he confessed his crimes; he ceded the papacy. And so ended in shame the shameful schism.

Gregory XII., by two of his cardinals, ceded his right to the papacy for a cardinal's hat.

The emperor went a long journey into Spain to procure like action from Benedict; but he could do nothing with that old termagant; pope he was, and pope he would be. The emperor left him in Pensicola with his two cardinals—one to hold his candle and the other to hold his book, while he himself rang the bell and cursed the council and all the adherents of the council: he cursed Balthazar Cossa and Angelus Corarius; he cursed the emperor and the empire; he cursed the king of France and all the French people; he cursed England's king and England's folk, Castile, Aragon and the whole peninsula and all the islands of the sea. And then, in one comprehensive swoop, he cursed the whole world except himself and the two cardinals of his obedience, and he re-

mained in that attitude of cursing until the day of his death.

But if Sigismund did not bring the cession of Benedict, he brought something of greater value to the council: he brought the accession of Spain. Representatives of the various Spanish kingdoms came with the emperor, and in public assembly renounced the obedience of Benedict and gave their consent to the acts of the Council of Constance. This made the council supreme in Western Christendom. It proceeded at once to anathematize and depose Peter De Luna, calling himself Benedict XIII. It left him to wither in the heat of his own curses in his own little town of Perpignan, while it declared the papacy vacant. The polity of the Church had now undergone a complete revolution: a revolution as complete as that of the French Government, when, on the 10th of August, 1792, the Constituent Assembly deposed Louis XVI. and declared the throne vacant. That the revolution in ecclesiastical polity was not permanent was owing entirely to the weakness of the Council of Constance. That council was called for the defence of the Faith, for the extirpation of the schism, and for the reformation of the Church in its head and members. It accomplished only one of these purposes: it did heal the schism—after Constance there are no more antipopes—but it did

not reform the Church either in its head or members.

It did indeed reform the head of the Church for a moment by the simple and summary process of cutting off one head and putting on another; but it left the great body of abuses just as it found them. The Emperor Sigismund besought the council to proceed with the reformation of the Church before the election of a pope. But to this the council would not listen. It was an assembly of ecclesiastics eager for place and power. Every cardinal aspired to be pope. Every bishop hoped to be a cardinal; every priest a bishop. The one thought in everybody's mind was, Who will be the new pope?

The impatience of this thought hurried the council on to an election. The council, however, would not trust the election to the cardinals. It created a special electoral body. To the college of cardinals were joined thirty representatives from the council: six from each of the five nations. It was supposed that conflicting interests would make the contest a tedious one, but to the astonishment of all the conclave elected almost at once Otto, Cardinal Colonna, to the papal see. The election was received with joy by the whole council and city. The new pope was a prince of the Roman city as well as of the Roman Church: he was a man of irreproachable

morals and of considerable learning. He was crowned in Constance in the midst of the rejoicing of the people. He assumed the name of Martin V., and in him was hailed the beginning of a new era. And it was a new era. The great mediæval papacy was gone, never to come back again. With Martin V. begins the purely Italian papacy. He was the beginning of a line of popes which ended with the pontificate of Leo X.; a line of popes that was swept aside by the storm-blasts of the Reformation. These popes were Italian princes whose sole end and purpose was not to rule the Church, but to enrich their own families and to beautify their own city of Rome. This line of popes contains one or two names of repute: the lovely name of Thomas of Zarzanna, Nicholas V., creator of the papal city, so dear to the tourist and the gentle name of Æneas Silvius Piccolomini, Pius II., last preacher of crusades. But the papacy descended with frightful rapidity from Martin V., until it became the prey of the licentious and rapacious Rodrigo Borgia, Alexander VI., and the plaything of that pagan worldling, Giovanni de Medici, Leo X.

And for this descent the Council of Constance was to blame. Never did an assembly of men fail so miserably in the main purpose that called them together. They took from the papacy all that made it great, and left it all that made it mean

fatter

and miserable. Much of its power was gone, but all its stealings were left it. The pope was turned loose, not to rule the world any more, but to ~~pat-~~ten on its riches.

Soon after his coronation, Martin V. dropped down to Rome, and with him went the life of the council. It dragged its weary way along for a while, and then dispersed, leaving the Church in the main as it found it—unreformed in its head, unreformed in its members—left it to await the wrath of God in the storms of the sixteenth century.

But the Council of Constance did something. It did for Western Christendom what the parliament of 1688 did for England; as that killed forever the absolute and divine right of kings, so this council put an end forever to the absolute and divine right of popes. Since 1414 the power of popes and priests has been passing into the hands of the people, so that it can now be truly said of them, as of the present sovereign of England, that they reign but do not rule. The pope still fills a vast place in Christendom, but it is not the place of Hildebrand, or even of Cajetan. Men no longer fear his interdict nor his excommunication. The excommunicated Döllinger was buried in honor, with the Archbishop of Munich standing by and baring his head in reverence before the open

grave. The reign of the popes may continue for ages, but the rule of the popes is over.

As the present line of English sovereigns dates from the settlement of 1688, so the present line of the popes dates from the settlement of Constance.

In accepting his election from the council, Martin V. admitted its right to judge and depose the pope.

He had been a cardinal both of Gregory and John. Gregory he had forsaken at Pisa, when that council condemned and deposed him ; and John he had forsaken at Constance. So, a pope being witness, the Church in council is greater than the pope, and may sit in judgment and condemn him.

Martin V. had just such rights, and no more, as the Council of Constance could give him. That council indeed failed to limit the papal power by formal decree, but the council itself was a limitation; and a greater limit has been put to papal pretension by a power mightier than that of any council—even the power of the over-ruling providence of God. Since the Council of Constance a new world of human life has come into existence which the pope did not create and which he does not govern.

Vast changes have come to pass, which have altered the whole course and method of human thinking and given to life a new character. And all this has been done not only without the pope,

but in spite of him. He stands in the presence of this new world a helpless relic of the past. His only hope is to reconcile himself to the world, for the world will never be reconciled to him. The doctrine of papal infallibility is contradicted not by an isolated fact here and there, such as the condemnation of Honorius and the deposition of John XXIII. It is put to shame by the history of four hundred years.

Ever since the Council of Constance the popes have been dragged at the chariot wheels of human progress. During that long period the infallible oracle has given forth no sound to which men have cared to listen. The teacher has been the pupil of the scholars. The world is wiser than the pope.

Men have found by much toil and sweat of soul that wisdom and goodness are not in the unit, but in the mass. No man can be wise and good for all men. The greatest of men are to mankind what the highest mountain is to the surface and bulk of the whole earth, a mere ripple on its mighty bosom, a little higher grain of sand.

This is the fundamental principle of modern political science. It believes that the people as a people are wiser and better than any man as a man. From the people a man is taken for a special work, and when that work is done to the people he must return. No man is above man.



The doctrine of absolutism is not only passing, it has passed away. It lingers for awhile only among unprogressive nations and immobile peoples. And an absolute priest, is even more intolerable than an absolute king. A man may rule my body, if you please, may send it to prison and to death, but never my soul and my spirit. He can never take from me that liberty of thought and feeling wherewith Christ has made me free.

It is the fatal error of the imperial and papal system that it makes an office too great for a man. Even Cæsar could not fill the place of Cæsar. When he thought to rule the world, the world fell on him and crushed him. And when Boniface VIII. stretched the papal pretensions to the utmost limit, claiming from God absolute power, from men absolute obedience, then those pretensions cracked and shivered and fell to pieces.

If a pope to-day were to speak in the language of Boniface, no Philip the Fair would draw sword; he would not be the fear but the jest of men.

Political and spiritual progress has made forever impossible such dominion of man over man. The modern method is not to make great offices which may be filled by little men, but a little office which may be filled by a great man. It is now well known that an office can never at any time be greater than the man who fills it. The

imperial power in the hands of a Nero is good for nothing but mischief, in the hands of an Arcadius, it is good for nothing at all ; while the power of a presidency is harmless in the hands of a Johnson, respectable in the hands of a Pierce, and glorious and mighty in the hands of a Washington and a Lincoln.

So the papal power in the hands of Boniface VIII. is a vast evil, in the hands of Eugenius IV., a vast nothing ; but a simple teacher of the Word and minister of the sacraments, while he can do little harm, can do vast good in the world : he can move it by the eloquence of Newman, and stir it to its depths by the piety of Keble.

If the papal power is ever to come back again it can only come as it came at the first, by the way of humility and sacrifice. The pope is no greater than Peter, and Peter said to Cornelius, I am a man with like passions. When the pope sees himself in the likeness of men, fallible as they are fallible, weak as they are weak, then men may turn to him again for comfort and for counsel.

And now, gentlemen of the club, my task is ended. It has not been a task of pleasure. I have taken you to view the wreckage of a vast and beautiful system of human life. I say vast, for the confederacy of Western nations, under the domination of the pope, was second in extent and power only to imperial Rome herself, and I say

beautiful, for what went before that wreckage is in some respects lovelier than anything that has come after. Twelfth-century Catholicism has in it more of beauty than nineteenth-century Protestantism. The Cathedral of Rouen is more pleasant to the eye than the railway station of Paris; the monastery has a charm which is lacking in the hotel. But what shall we do? shall we bring back again the monk and his missal, the knight and his sword, the pope and his curse? No, we will not, because we cannot. Time goes not back, but forward. We are to look not for the old, but for the new day.

I said awhile ago that the reign of Philip Fair was the midnight hour of a new day. That day has not dawned, it is dawning. With us it is about five o'clock in the morning.

Under Philip Fair the three forces which dominate the modern world came to the front and won their first victory. Secular wealth, human learning, and the spirit of nationalism were then arrayed against ecclesiastical wealth and priestly learning, and the spirit of Catholicism; from that battle they came forth flushed with success, and now we see them everywhere triumphant.

But they are doomed in their turn to be conquered. Men will not forever worship the golden calf which their own hands have made, their reason will not forever move within the narrow

limits of an exact but partial science, nor will they keep their sympathies within the bounds of their own little country. Secular wealth is doomed to be consecrated to spiritual uses, human learning to be irradiated by divine wisdom, and nationalism to merge into a higher universalism.

These things are in the air ; coming like fresh winds with the morning light. It is the part of every true man to look toward the light and to welcome the morning.

The great task of the coming time is to disentangle our holy religion, both from papalism and Protestantism. To teach that as the Church is one body, it can have only one head. It is not a monster that can lose its head and grow a new one five times a century, but it has One "who is made head over all things to His Church"—even the Lord Jesus Christ, whose head is in the heavens and His body is in heaven with him and extending from heaven, through Paradise, even to the earth. Nor is the Church that more awful monster, one head with many bodies, bodies with hands that do not help but rend each other. The present state of discord and disunion cannot last because it is anti-Christian, and whatever is anti-Christian is doomed to perish.

The papal system was anti-Christian, and it fell ; the Protestant system is anti-Christian, and it must fall also. In some way or other the

prayer of Christ will prevail, and we shall all be one, even as He and the Father are one. The centre of unity is not the earth, but the sun ; not man, but God.

And now, gentlemen, let us beware how we linger, like Lot's wife, in the shadow of a doomed past; how we look back on a Church of earthly dignity and worldly power, and think to live in that Church again. Shall we repeat the shame of the olden time without its glory? Wherever in priestly heart to-day there lurks the love of power, there is Anagni without Anagni's strength; and wherever there hides the love of ease there is Avignon without Avignon's wealth.

What our Bishops need is not power, but light. When they see to lead, men will gladly follow. And our priests need to be clothed, not with authority, but love. The powers of the Church are not earthly, but heavenly; they are the guiding power of light and the expanding powers of heat. When the Church trusts to these, and these alone, then will she come again to her peace. Her priests will be clothed with righteousness and her saints shall rejoice and sing.

When men recognize without reserve the power of truth and the power of love, and when they begin to speak that truth in that love, then "will they grow up into Him in all things which is *the* head, even Christ"—from whom the whole body,

fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part ; maketh increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love.

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**The Syllabus and Papal Infallibility.**

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## LECTURE VI.

THE RT. REV. ARTHUR C. A. HALL, D.D.,

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### *THE SYLLABUS AND PAPAL INFALLIBILITY.\**

The subject assigned to me, Papal Infallibility, naturally falls under two chief heads. It may be viewed in two aspects: I., Historical, and II., Theological.

I. First, we examine the claim of infallibility in the light of history, and ask, *a posteriori*, how far it is justified by facts. Have the popes been

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\* The Lecturer would refer for his authorities in this discourse to the following books, which can be found in libraries :

*The Infallibility of the Church*, by George Salmon, D.D.,  
Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. (Murray, 1890.)

*Pope Honorius and the New Roman Dogma*, by E. F. Willis.  
(Rivingtons, 1879.)

*Rome and the Newest Fashions in Religion*: three tracts, The  
Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance, a

infallible, and have they been regarded by the Church as endowed with this gift ?

II. Secondly, we examine the claim in the light of Scripture promises, and ask, *a priori*, whether such a gift was to be expected. Is there any warrant for supposing they would be infallible ?

III. So far as time allows, the application of the claim to political and other subjects suggested by the syllabus will be a third point for consideration.

That we may be clear, and fair, in apprehending the position controverted, let me quote the assertion of the claim to Papal Infallibility formally made by the Roman Catholic Church. The Constitution, or doctrinal decree, called the *Pastor æternus*, promulgated by Pius IX, "with the approbation of the Sacred Vatican Council," on July 18, 1870, after making other claims for the Roman Bishops, as that in St. Peter Christ pro-

Political Remonstrance ; Vaticanism ; Speeches of the Pope. By W. E. Gladstone. (Tauchnitz Edition, No. 1,524, 1875.)

*A Letter Addressed to the Duke of Norfolk*, on occasion of Mr. Gladstone's Expostulation, by John H. Newman. In Vol. II. of *The Difficulties of Anglicans*. (Pickering, 1876.)

*The Roman Claims Tested by Antiquity*, by Wm. Bright, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford. (English Church Union Office, 1877.)

vided a primacy of proper jurisdiction over the whole Church, which was to continue with St. Peter's successors, the Bishops of Rome, in its 4th chapter also claims for the pope a supreme teaching office. "We teach and define it to be a dogma divinely revealed that, when the Roman Pontiff speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when, in discharge of the office of Pastor and Teacher of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, he defines that a doctrine regarding faith or morals is to be held by the Universal Church, he enjoys, by the Divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed His Church to be endowed in defining a doctrine regarding faith or morals; and that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church, irreformable." \*

I. In the historical consideration of the subject we will pass over earlier times, with pertinent questions that might well be raised with reference to Zephyrinus and Callistus and Hippolytus, and come at once to the great Arian controversy that shook Christendom and tried the faith of the Church to the uttermost. Then, if ever, an infal-

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\* *Constitutio de Ecclesia, cap. iv., de Romani Pontificis Infallibili Magisterio.*

lible guide was needed; for the question in dispute was nothing less than the Divine Person, the true Godhead, of our Lord. And then, we may be quite sure, had he known of the existence of such an easy method of settling the controversy, the Roman emperor, anxious above all things for peace, would have been eager to employ it. The Church was torn with schisms and racked with doubt. Council after council met. The question was thrashed out in protracted debates, and innumerable treatises. The attempt to settle the matter by papal authority was not thought of. On the contrary, when the Roman Bishop was appealed to, not as supreme teacher to determine the question by his authority, but as head of a most important see, and foremost Bishop of the West, to side with the orthodox contenders for the Homooousion, Pope Liberius went wrong, repudiated Athanasius, and signed an Arian formula.

At first nobly resisting the pressure put on him by the Arian Emperor Constantius, and submitting to banishment rather than side with the Arians, yet in his isolation, after two years' exile, he gave way, and wrote to the Arians as his most beloved brethren, apologizing for ever having defended Athanasius, on the ground that Bishop Julius, his predecessor, had so done; but "having learned" (he says), "when it pleased God, that

you have condemned him justly, I assented to your sentence. So then, Athanasius being removed from the communion of us all, so that I am not even to receive his letters, I say that I am quite at peace and concord with you all. But that you may know better that in this letter I speak in true faith the same as my common lord and brother Demophilus [Patriarch of Constantinople, one of the worst of the Arians], who was so good as to vouchsafe to exhibit your Catholic creed, which at Sirmium was by many of your brethren and fellow bishops considered, set forth, and received by all present: this I received with willing mind, contradicted in nothing. To it I gave my assent; this I follow; this is held by me."

For his failure to persevere in his good confession, the pope is thus apostrophized by St. Hilary in his relation of the story: "This is Arian faithlessness; Anathema I say to thee, Liberius, and thy associates; again, and a third time, anathema to the prevaricator Liberius." Where, when Liberius so acted, was the infallible guide? Where, when Hilary could so write, was the conception in the Church of the Bishop of Rome as supreme teacher?

It may be said, it sometimes is urged, that the fall of Pope Liberius does not invalidate the claim of the Popes to infallibility, because his erroneous

and heretical statement was not pronounced *ex cathedra*. Certainly it was not, in a narrow, technical sense; for it was written in exile, and to purchase his return to his *cathedra*. But it was in official letters, addressed to all the Bishops of the East, and intended for publication by them, that (whatever may have been his private opinion and belief) Liberius gave to Arianism all the weight of his official position as Bishop of Rome, treating the questions that had been raised about our Lord's Person as matters on which different opinions might be held without necessitating any breach of communion.

We pass to another well known case, that of Honorius in the seventh century, admitted by Dr. Newman to be "a strong *prima facie* argument against the pope's doctrinal infallibility."\*

The facts of the case are briefly these: Pope Honorius is asked by Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, to declare his opinion upon the controversy that had arisen concerning the expression that there was in our Lord Jesus Christ but "one will and one life-giving energy or operation," an expression which had been adopted with a view to appeasing controversy and reuniting to the Church the Monophysites, who held that the

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\* Letter to the Duke of Norfolk, in *Difficulties of Anglicans*, ii., p. 315.



Human Nature in our Lord was absorbed in the Divine. In his answer Honorius showed himself a poor theologian, and unequal to the treatment of the delicate questions submitted to him. However, he distinctly espouses the wrong side. He praises Sergius for setting aside the novel expression of "two operations." He explains away passages of Scripture which speak plainly of Christ's human will, as mere accommodations employed for the sake of representing our Lord as an example for us to follow. He forbids alike the use of the orthodox expression "two operations," and of the heretical phrase "one operation." But what is the chief point of all, he gives distinct utterance to the unequivocally heretical statement, "we confess One Will of our Lord Jesus Christ."

All sorts of excuses have been urged in behalf of Honorius, all sorts of devices invented with the hope of getting rid of this formidable historical bar to the claim of Papal Infallibility.

That Honorius mistook the bearings of the case, that he had no heretical meaning, this is very probable, but quite beside the present question. The fact remains that he wrote officially as Roman Bishop. The closing words of his Epistle make it clear that he was not merely giving his opinion as a private individual, "These things" (he says) "your fraternity will preach with us, as we preach them unanimously with you."

And the fact remains that his name was posthumously branded with heresy by an Ecumenical Council, the condemnation being signed by the deputies of the reigning Pope, his (infallible) successor.

The Sixth Ecumenical Council met at Constantinople in 680. The whole question and history of Monothelitism was carefully gone into by the Council, and its chief authors were condemned. This was the sentence of the assembled Bishops: "Together with the dogmatic letters of Sergius we have examined that of Honorius, and have found them altogether alien from the Apostolic teaching, the definitions of Councils, and the doctrine of all approved Fathers, and that contrariwise they follow the false teachings of the heretics. We altogether reject and abhor them as soul-destroying. We have, moreover, expelled from God's Holy Catholic Church and anathematized Honorius who was Pope of Old Rome, because in his letters to Sergius he has followed the same doctrine and confirmed his impious dogmas." "These writings," the Bishops add, "we have caused to be burnt for their complete annihilation." And again, "Anathema to the heretic Theodore, anathema to the heretic Sergius, anathema to the heretic Honorius."

This condemnation was echoed by council after council, by the *Quini-sex*t Council in 691, by the

Second Council of Nicea in 787 (reckoned the 7th Ecumenical Council), by the 8th Ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 869.

The condemnation was repeated by successive popes in the Profession of Faith made by them at their election from the 6th to the 9th centuries.

Moreover, it was read by all the clergy in the Breviary offices until the 16th century, one of the lessons for the feast of St. Leo, on the 28th of June, containing this statement about the 6th General Council, "in which Synod were condemned Sergius, Cyrus, Honorius, Pyrrhus, Paul and Peter who asserted and proclaimed one will and operation in our Lord Jesus Christ." In Breviaries of later date than 1520 the name of Honorius has been dropped from among the list of heretics—perhaps for the sake of brevity, as has been suggested; more probably "for edification," lest an awkward fact thus authenticated by the Church should give occasion to doubts as to the idea then gaining ground, and now imposed on Roman Catholics as an article of faith, concerning the infallibility of the pope.

How awkward a fact the case of Honorius is felt by Roman Catholics to be, is shown by the strenuous endeavors which controversialists have made to explain it away, when it could not be ignored. Some have urged, as in the case of

Liberius, that the heretical statement was not made in an *ex-cathedra* utterance addressed to the whole Church. Certainly Honorius did not look upon himself as the present Pope would be bound by the Vatican decree to regard himself and all his predecessors. He had no idea that he was acting as a mouthpiece of the whole Church, or with supreme teaching authority. In this sense *no* early Pope made any *ex-cathedra* utterance. But it is equally certain that on a most important point, involving the reality of our Lord's Manhood, a question, as Archbishop Trench has pointed out, "for life and death; for the denial of a human will in Christ was in fact a denial of His sacrifice"; a question on which just because of its delicacy and intricacy the faithful needed sure guidance; the supposed supreme teacher and infallible guide failed them, and in an official reply sent from Peter's see to an enquiry forwarded by the Patriarch of Constantinople on behalf of two other Eastern Patriarchs, made statements, which for more than half a century were the strongest support of Monothelitism, the letters of Honorius being constantly appealed to by the upholders of that heresy, and immense numbers, as Bossuet says, being seduced into heresy by the authority of the Pope's name. Other Roman controversialists have even been bold, or rash, enough to deny that Honorius' teaching was really heretical,

and to assert that he was condemned by an error of fact.

In reply to such a contention one may quote the words of Père Gratry :

“ In this mad conflict the thought does not even strike them that, if the letters of Honorius are not heretical, the whole Church has for centuries anathematized as heretical a writing, a man, a Pope, perfectly orthodox; and that, on a question of faith and dogmatic facts, three councils and twenty popes have obstinately deceived themselves in their most solemn decrees. They do not see that, in order to save one Pope, they sacrifice twenty, without reckoning three General Councils, whose decrees they trample under foot.”

Let us leave them in this dilemma, thankful that for us dogma does not thus triumph over history.

It has seemed best in the limited time at our disposal to concentrate attention especially upon two great historical illustrations of Papal Infallibility. One proved instance of error in formal and official utterance is sufficient to vitiate the claim of an infallible guide; to destroy confidence in a supreme teacher. But I may remind you that there are many lapses in matters of only secondary importance. One instance will suffice. Pope Eugenius IV. laid down in an exposition of the

doctrine of the sacraments that the matter and form of the Sacrament of Orders is the delivery of the sacred vessels together with certain words; a definition which would invalidate all ordinations for the first thousand years or more of the Church's history, during which these rites and words were never used.

It is true that this instruction was given not to the whole Church, but to the Armenians; and accordingly Roman Catholics might claim that this case too should be exempted from the list of *ex-cathedra* utterances, which they would limit to such as were addressed to the whole body of the faithful. Apart from the consideration already touched on, that this condition requires a considerable development of the idea of papal supremacy before it could be fulfilled,\* one cannot but also feel a suspicion that these carefully guarded restrictions of *ex-cathedra* utterances are intended and invented to exclude difficult cases. Other wise it would be obvious to ask why one who could infallibly instruct and guide the whole body

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\* "Who will dream of asserting that Honorius in the seventh century did actually intend to exert that infallible teaching voice which has been dogmatically recognized in the nineteenth?" So Dr. Newman asks. But then Pius IX. was not adhering to primitive tradition when he taught that Roman pontiffs hold this office of infallible teachers.

The Bull of Pope Boniface VIII., in 1303, is the first addressed to the whole Church.

should be a fallible guide when instructing or guiding portions of the body.

It is well nigh impossible to pass from these great instances of proved fallibility (in questions of supreme importance with regard to Christian faith), and listen without a smile to the claims made by the papacy at the present time to supreme authority in all questions affecting duty, including all sorts of difficult political and social problems, or to conceive that they are seriously advanced.

But listen to the claim of universal obedience made on behalf of the pope, in the third chapter of the Vatican Constitution, "a formidable rival indeed," as has been said, "to the fourth chapter on Infallibility."

"All, both pastors and faithful, of whatsoever rite and dignity, both individually and collectively, are bound to submit, by the duty of hierarchical subordination and true obedience, not only in matters belonging to faith and morals, but also in those that appertain to the discipline and government of the Church throughout the world. So that unity with the Roman pontiff, both of communion and profession of the same faith, being preserved, the Church of Christ may be one flock under one supreme shepherd. This is the teaching of the Catholic faith from which no one can



deviate without risk to faith and salvation. We further teach and declare that the pope is the supreme judge of the faithful, and that in all causes of ecclesiastical cognisance, recourse may be had to his judgment, and that none may reopen the judgment of the Apostolic see, than whose there is no greater authority, and that it is not lawful for any one to sit in judgment on his judgment."

In the light of this far-reaching, all-embracing claim, read the propositions and errors condemned in the *Syllabus*, or index to his previous papal utterances, published for the information of the Roman Catholic Bishops by Pius IX., along with the encyclical *Quanta cura*, December 8, 1864.

From the eighty false doctrines therein condemned I will quote but five, as to the meaning of which there can be no reasonable doubt.

(1) Freedom of worship. The proposition is condemned that in our age it is no longer expedient that the Catholic should be the only religion of the State, and that all other forms of worship whatever should be excluded.

(2) Freedom of speech and of the press. This is stigmatized as a frenzy of an un-Christian age.

(3) The denial of the right of the Church to use the temporal sword. A Jesuit commentator (Schrader) on the twenty-eighth article of the *Syllabus* explains, "As the Church has an exter-

nal jurisdiction, she can impose temporal punishments, and not only deprive the guilty of spiritual privileges. The love of earthly things which injures the Church's order obviously cannot be effectively put down by merely spiritual punishments; it is little affected by them. If that order is to be avenged on what has injured it, if that is to suffer which has enjoyed the sin, temporal and sensible punishments must be employed," among which he enumerates fines, imprisonments, scourging and banishment.

(4) If it be said that the pretensions of the popes expressed in these articles are mediæval and inconsistent with the spirit of modern times, such an objection is met by anticipation in another article, which condemns the statement that the Roman pontiff can and ought to reconcile himself with progress, with liberalism, with modern civilization.

(5) While once more the assertion is condemned that Roman pontiffs and their councils have in the past transgressed the limits of their power, or usurped the rights of princes.

After such an adoption of the *non possumus* attitude (with the strength of tradition which naturally rules at Rome), will any look to the see of Peter for helpful and sympathetic guidance in the difficult and delicate task which presses upon the

Christian society at the present time, of adjusting ancient institutions to modern requirements ; of seeking to harmonize apparently conflicting rights and claims, and to interpret the Divine revelation so as to be in accord with other indications of God's mind ?

Certainly the Encyclical Letter concerning the study of Holy Scripture addressed only last year (November, 1893) by Leo XIII. to the bishops in communion with the Apostolic See, would encourage no such hope.

In that Encyclical (which it would be difficult to distinguish from an *ex-cathedra* utterance addressed to the whole Church, and therefore to be regarded by Roman Catholics as of infallible authority) the Pope settles to his own satisfaction, but hardly to that of thoughtful and intelligent Christians, the questions raised concerning the interpretation of the Holy Scripture by laying down the narrowest view of Inspiration, according to which all possibility of error on the part of the human writers, in matters of detail, outside the sphere of faith and morals, is excluded, Almighty God being for any practical consideration the sole Author. Thus with the professed motive of "giving an impulse to the noble study of Holy Scripture, and of imparting to Scripture study a direction suitable to the needs of the present day," the present Pope distinctly limits and narrows the

freedom which had been allowed by both Tridentine and Vatican decrees, and apparently sets the stamp of papal authority on the theory of verbal inspiration.

Before leaving altogether the historical consideration of the subject, and as specially suggested by certain applications of the claim of supreme authority (made by the Syllabus) to the political sphere, I wish to cite the denial of papal infallibility as an article of faith made in the most solemn way by Roman Catholics in England and Ireland, headed by their spiritual guides, when the removal of civil disabilities and of the penal laws, under which they had suffered, was being discussed.

The following oath, founded upon a previous formal declaration by Roman Catholics, was inserted in an Act of Parliament for the relief of Roman Catholics in Ireland :

"It is not an article of the Catholic Faith, neither am I thereby required to believe or profess that the pope is infallible."

In 1810 the Irish Roman Catholic Bishops in a synodical declaration affirmed :

"That said oath and the promises, declarations, abjurations and protestations therein contained, are, notoriously, to the Roman Catholic Church at large, a part of the Roman Catholic religion, as

taught by us the Bishops, and received and maintained by the Roman Catholic Churches in Ireland; and as such are approved and recognized by the other Roman Catholic Churches."

The significance of this historical record is clear.

Either there has been a most astonishing change (not merely a development) in Roman Catholic doctrine, formally stated by its authoritative teachers, between 1810 and 1870, or by the statement of English and Irish Roman Catholics, and the silence of the authorities at Rome, "one of the blackest frauds recorded in history" (I quote the words of Mr. Gladstone \*) was practised upon the British Crown.

These difficulties were foreseen during the sittings of the Vatican Council. In an address prepared by Archbishop Kenrick, of St. Louis, and subsequently published, though not actually delivered, because a stop was put to the debate, the Archbishop says, "In what way the pledge thus given to the English Government can be reconciled with the definition of papal infallibility let those of the Irish Bishops consider who like myself have taken the oath in question."

It is plain at any rate that the doctrine of Papal infallibility does not belong to the *quod semper*, *quod ubique*, *quod ab omnibus*, and that Cardinal

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\* *Vaticanism*, p. 134.

Manning, one of its most strenuous promoters and defenders (if one who pushes a doctrine to extremes can be reckoned among its defenders), is hopelessly at variance with facts when he says that "before the Council was held the infallibility of the pope was a doctrine of Divine faith." \*

As a specimen of thorough-going Romanism, covering the ground of both the Syllabus and the decree of infallibility, another quotation from Cardinal Manning may be given, which elevates the temporal power of the popes (concerning which time forbids me to say anything) to the rank of revealed and necessary doctrine :

"The Catholic Church (he says) cannot be silent ; it cannot hold its peace ; it cannot cease to preach the doctrines of Revelation, not only of the Trinity and of the Incarnation, but likewise of the Seven Sacraments, and of the infallibility of the Church of God, and of the necessity of unity, and of the sovereignty, both spiritual and temporal, of the Holy See." †

II. Let us now turn from the historical consideration of the question, with some of its political consequences, to the theological. History seems at any rate to show that popes have not been infallible guides. Is there any ground for suppos-

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\* Quoted by Gladstone, *Vaticanism*, p. 123.

† *The Present Crisis of the Holy See*, p. 73. Quoted by Gladstone, *Vaticanism*, p. 65.

ing that they would be? Roman Catholics urge two chief arguments for the expectation; one derived from reason, the other from Scripture. How should we be assured of truth with that certainty that is desirable, if not necessary, without an infallible guide to appeal to? So they ask, pointing at the same time with a sort of triumphant scorn to the doubts and difficulties and differences existing amongst those who do not acknowledge the supreme teachership of the Roman pontiff. And, they inquire, did not Christ plainly confer on Peter—and since the necessity (that we have imagined) always remains, it must be assumed on his successors—the prerogative of infallibility when He said, “Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat : but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren”?\*

A. The Roman Church, with all her contributions to the common treasury of Christendom, has never been conspicuous for Scriptural exegesis; or we might have been surprised that so large a claim, with such an extended area, should be rested on so exceedingly doubtful an interpretation of words, which obviously have a personal and immediate rather than an official and permanent application.

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\* St. Luke xxii. 31, 32.



With reference to this and the other texts\* quoted in support of the claim of Peter's (assumed) successors to the office of supreme teacher in the Christian Church, it may be sufficient to point out that Peter himself, from the Scripture record, seems to have been singularly unmindful of this function which is supposed to have been committed to him. Neither in the Acts of the Apostles nor in the Epistles does St. Peter stand out in any distinctive and conspicuous light as the teacher. Ordinary readers of the New Testament would naturally ascribe such a position among the Apostles either to St. Paul or to St. John. On the other hand, the Scripture narrative appears to bear directly contrary evidence with regard to St. Peter. In the Acts† we read of the Church of Jerusalem calling Peter to account for eating with one uncircumcised, and of Peter justifying himself, not by pleading his sovereign authority to decide the Church's action in such a matter, but by relating a special revelation sanctioning what he had done, while in the Epistles the story of St. Paul's resistance to St. Peter at Antioch is a formidable stumbling-block in the way of accepting either his supreme authority or his infallibility;‡ so formidable a stumbling-block that it has

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\* St. Matt. xvi. 17-19; St. John xxi. 15-18.

† Chapter xi.

‡ Gal. ii. 11.

evoked the utmost ingenuity on the part of those who would explain the passage in conformity with Roman claims.

A remarkable proof of the acknowledged need of such explanation may be cited.

A Roman Catholic theologian, Aloisius Vincenzi, in a book published at Rome in 1875, printed at the Vatican Press, and dedicated to Pio Nono,\* writing to uphold the papacy, candidly acknowledges that he cannot imagine on papal grounds that St. Peter, the supreme ruler and teacher, would have been so treated by St. Paul, and therefore feels sure that it is some other Peter who is here mentioned. It may be added that on the same principle Vincenzi reconstructs the history of the early councils, ruling out as unauthentic the forgeries of heretics, the greater number of canons contained in the existing records, as being inconsistent (as indeed they are) with the recognition of the prerogatives supposed to have been inherited by St. Peter's successors.†

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\* *De Hebraeorum et Christianorum Sacra Monarchia, et de Infallibili in utroque Magisterio.* See Correspondence in the London *Guardian*, December 20, 1893, and following numbers.

† "Nevertheless, as is patent from the preceding pages, we must not conceal that in the ancient Acts of the Church during the aforesaid period (*i. e.*, the first five centuries) there are some 400 documents entitled canons, Apostolic Canons, as

*B.* From Scripture warrant, which, to say the least, is not convincing, for the expectation of the provision of an infallible guide, we go back to what Roman Catholics seem to lay *most* stress on, the antecedent reasonableness of the expectation, the necessity for such a provision if the truth that Christ came to reveal was to be preserved intact, and humble-minded and sincere disciples preserved from error. In this sense Cardinal Newman urges that the pope alone represents spiritual authority, and asks, "If we give him up to whom shall we go? Can I follow the faith and put my soul into the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury or of the Bishop of Lincoln?" \* To which we should answer with all humility, By no

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they are commonly called, canons of Ancyra, Elvira, Neo-Cæsarea, Gangra, Laodicea, Nicea, Constantinople, Africa, Chalcedon—most often written in Greek—where the prerogatives of the Roman See are never once set forth, or, if ever mentioned, only mentioned to be disowned." Accordingly the papal advocate is forced to take up this position: "In fine, whatever is to be thought of the origin and authority of the aforesaid countless canons, nobody will ever persuade me that Apostles and Orthodox Fathers of Nicea, Constantinople, Africa, and Chalcedon ever sanctioned canons of this sort, in which both the primacy of Peter and his successors is discredited and destroyed, and at the same time the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff over all the bishops of the Catholic Church is repudiated."

\* Letter to the Duke of Norfolk in reply to Mr. Gladstone's Expostulation, *Difficulties of Anglicans*, ii., p. 226.

means; we want no pope, Latin or Anglican, English or American. It is this whole conception of a supreme ruler, a final authority on earth, against which we protest, as infringing on the real headship over the whole body of our exalted and glorified Lord, and as leading to a practical denial of the indwelling and active operation of the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of truth, as of holiness and love, within the whole company of the faithful, leading them, by His internal inspiration, rather than by external direction, into all truth of faith and life. "He that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches"\*—this expresses our rule of faith, the reconciliation of the right, the responsibility, the necessity of private judgment with the recognition of the voice of authority, testifying to the teaching of the Spirit in other members of the mystical body, throughout the world and throughout the ages, whereby we check and test what we think to be His witness in our hearts and minds. Both individual fanaticism and mechanical formality are excluded.

The desire for an absolute authority to decide questions for us is natural, akin to many another desire of our indolent hearts.† We are often

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\* Rev. ii. 7, etc.

† "There are numbers of people who take on trust, without consideration, what they are asked to believe in

tempted to take short cuts to wealth, or peace, or truth. But would such a provision be in harmony with the ordinary law of God's dealings with us? Does He bestow on us as a gift from outside absolute certainty with regard to any department of truth? Is it not rather His way to develop within us a growing assurance of the truth of what we have first been taught, as we act upon that which we have provisionally accepted from external authority?

The authority of the parent, the teacher, is not unreal, because it is not final. It shadows forth the supreme authority of the One Father, the One Master; and if wisely and rightly exercised it appeals to the conscience and intelligence of the child or pupil, that he may recognize and acquiesce in the mind and will of the Supreme Ruler. It is

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matters of religion; some from habit and want of discipline in their education; some from a dislike of trouble; some from what they pretend to be a proper subjection to their teachers, thus trying to throw upon others a responsibility for which themselves will have to answer to God hereafter; some from sheer carelessness and want of interest; some, once more, because they do not comprehend what is involved in their assent. To call such an assent faith is utterly to miscall it. There is very little faith in it. A state of mind which admits so readily of additions to its creed would be very likely not long to withstand a demand to change it altogether." William Maskell, quoted by Salmon, *Infallibility of the Church*, p. 107.

the same with the authority of the pastor towards the individual Christian and towards the whole body of the faithful. Authority need not be infallible to be helpful. Perhaps one might add, to be really helpful it must not be infallible. It would save much trouble and be far more convenient, but far less edifying, to run to the nearest priest and ask him for an authoritative decision settling this or that perplexing question as to belief or conduct. But then our own spiritual discernment or moral sense would never be exercised or educated. It would have saved the Church much perplexity, much discussion, if she had been able to refer her questions and doubts as to points of faith and morals to an infallible guide and teacher. But she did not. And we can see what she would have lost had she been able to do so. Out of all the discussion, debate and controversy, in council and in treatise, the weighing of evidence, the pondering of arguments, through much perplexity, in spite of some mistakes and blunders, the Church advances, like the individual, in the knowledge of God, and in an intelligent apprehension of His mind and will.

We gain first a practical working assurance, then a growing certainty. And this, as we listen for His voice, and look for indications of His will, through every channel by which He makes Himself known to us; and as we surrender ourselves

to the control of the Holy Spirit, Who is at the same time the Illuminator and the Sanctifier, Whose guidance we cannot claim in one department of life, unless we are submitting to His control in all. God, Who surely hates sin more than He hates error, wills us to be freed from both; but as He has not made sin impossible, so neither error.

More and more, again and again, the declaration of the beloved disciple is realized in the experience of the faithful, "Ye have no need that any one should teach you. Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things." \* The experience of St. Peter himself is repeated, "Flesh and blood hath not revealed this into you, but My Father which is in Heaven." †

The inspiring Spirit gradually leads into all truth, of faith and life. ‡

May He, the Blessed Spirit of God, the Promise of the Father, whose mission from the glorified Saviour we are about to celebrate, § whose outpouring on the Church in ever-increasing measure we implore, enlighten our minds, and the minds of all His people more and more with the light of the everlasting Gospel. May He graft in our hearts

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\* I. St. John ii. 20, 27.

† St. Matt. xvi. 17.

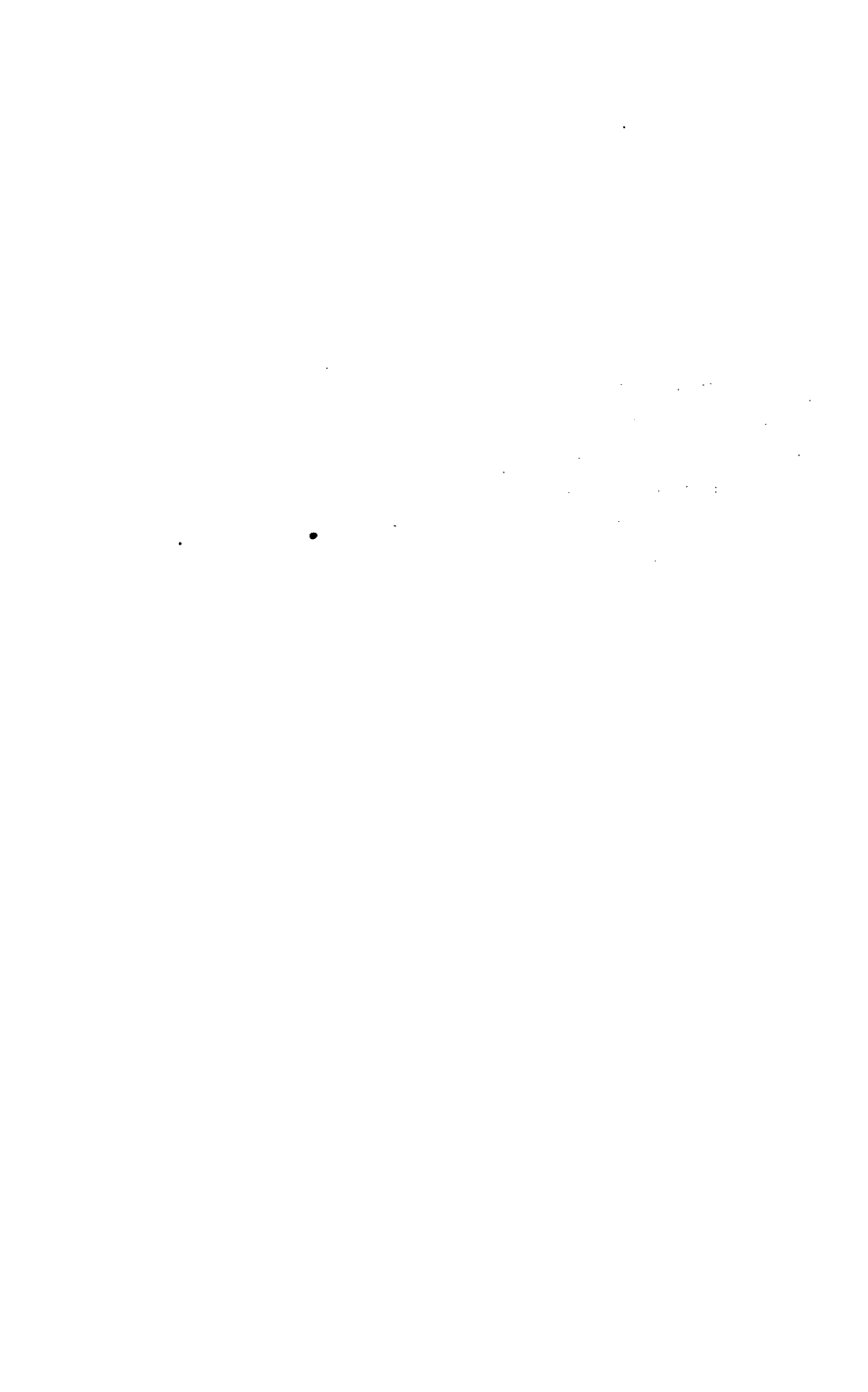
‡ St. John xiv. 26; xvi. 13.

§ The lecture was delivered on the Sunday after Ascension Day.

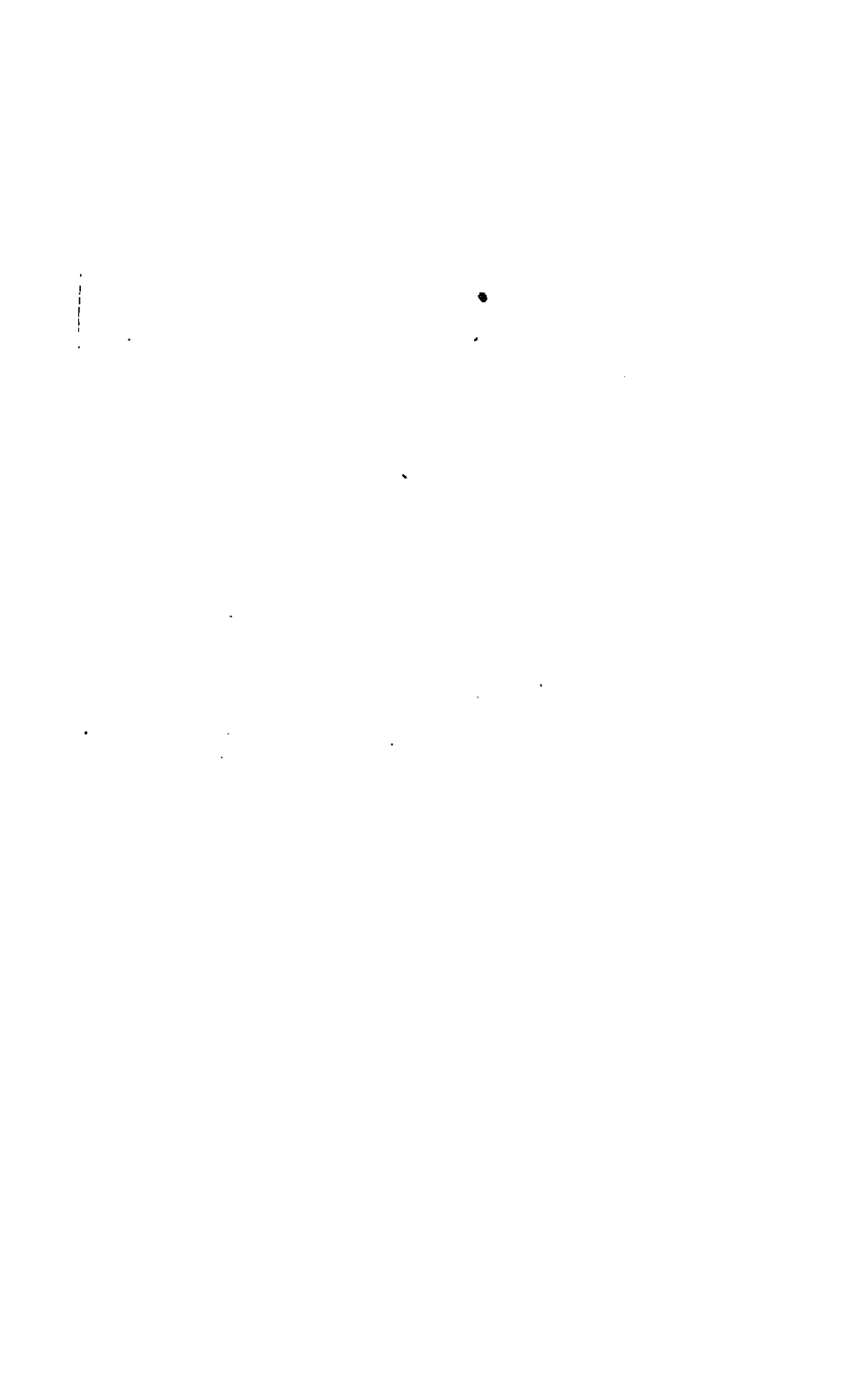


a love of the truth, increase in us true religion, nourish us with all goodness, and of His great mercy keep us in the same; Whom with the Father and the Son together we worship and glorify as One God, world without end. Amen.

It seems scarcely necessary to say that the Church Club is not responsible for any individual opinions on points not ruled by the Church, which the learned theologians who have been good enough to lecture under its auspices may have expressed.



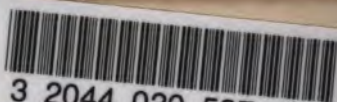






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